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This 1999 issue of the "Carolinas Communication Annual" contains the following articles: "The Unmade Analogy: Alcohol and Abortion" (Richard W. Leeman); "Say, You Want a Revolution" (Roy Schwartzman and Constance Y. Green); "Exploring the Relationship between Perceived Narrativity and Persuasiveness" (Richard Olsen and Rodney A. Reynolds); "In Search of 'Atonement and Reconciliation': President Clinton's Anticipatory Rhetoric and the Million Man March" (Marouf Hasian, Jr.); and "Making the Basic Course Student-Friendly: Lectures, Activities, and Speeches" (Marsha Clowers). (NKA)

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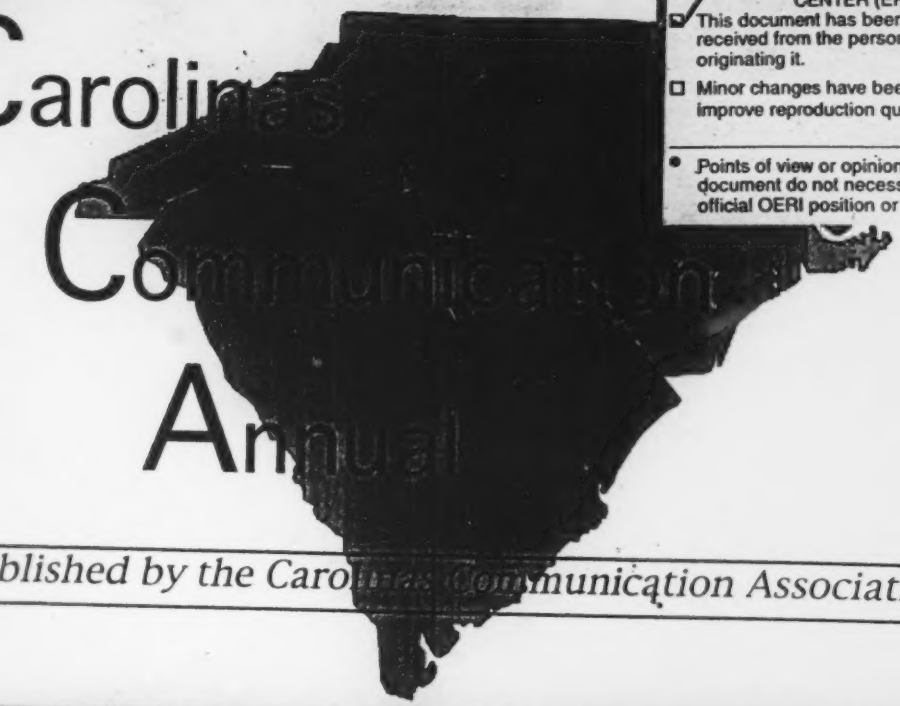

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THE UNMADE ANALOGY: ALCOHOL AND ABORTION

Richard W. Leeman

Few students of rhetoric would disagree with William Sacksteder that "an analogy is intrinsically argumentative and inferential" (1974, 251). To choose an analogy is to make an argument, and both literal and figurative analogies have been extensively studied to discover a rhetor's inventional strategy. What has been less noted is the importance for the critic to consider which analogies were not selected by a rhetor. Although the field of unchosen analogies is infinite, a rhetorical situation will sometimes invite a certain comparison, and when that comparison is avoided the critic may obtain important insight into the rhetor's inventional strategy. This essay will argue that both pro-life and pro-choice rhetors have avoided analogizing the abortion issue with the Prohibition movement, and that a study of that decision reveals important inventional constraints. I will first examine the analogical relationship invited by the rhetorical situation, and then identify the reasons that the analogy goes unmade.

The Analogy

The prohibition of alcohol and the prohibition of abortion possess a clear physical resemblance. Both involve a government policy that bans a certain kind of private activity from occurring. The compelling invitation for the analogy, however, can only be seen by examining the rhetorical similarities between the prohibition and pro-life movements, and between the repeal and pro-choice movements.

The prohibition and pro-life movements have an immediate surface similarity in their combination of assimilative with coercive reform. Prohibition grew out of the temperance movement, and never lost its educational component. The pro-life movement has established various agencies to promote adoption over abortion. In each case, however, the movement sensed that

moral suasion had yielded only partial success, and that the issue was of such moral significance that a legal remedy was necessary. In both cases, that conclusion was drawn from religious wellsprings.

Prohibitionists generally believed that alcohol was a tool of Satan. J.S. Vandersloot believed it to be "distilled damnation" (1878, 312). Bishop Luther Wilson called it "soul-destroying drink" (1913, 6). Said the Rev. Howard Russell, the founder of the Anti-Saloon League (ASL), "the Almighty has set his kingly signet upon this latest and strongest missionary movement against the satanic scheme and systems that curse the world with the woes of alcohol" (1904, 4-5). Enthused Eliza Stewart, "Oh the blessedness of working for Jesus!" (1972, 41). Prohibition was, in short, a movement particularly fueled by evangelical Protestantism (Gusfield, 1963).

The pro-life movement has been similarly religious in its origins and structure, although its religious heritage is not identical. Fundamentalist Protestants have combined with Roman Catholics to form the nucleus of the movement. Their rhetoric, too, is similarly Christian in its appeals. Said one leader of the Sanctity of Life organization, "the fact of the matter is, God said it's a crime to shed innocent blood.... If we believe that abortion is murder, and I do, then I think we have to act like it is murder and try to stop it" (Colson, 1989, 72). Like Eliza Stewart before them, pro-life advocates believe that "the Lord is on our side" (300,000 rally, 1989, 3A).

Because the particular evil, whether alcohol or abortion, is itself immoral, the very presence and acceptance of the evil becomes a sign of larger social decay. Alcohol represented first of all the larger battle against Christianity. Said the Rev. Fosdick, "the liquor traffic and the Christian gospel stand for two diverse and contradictory conceptions of life" (1928, 23). Bishop Wilson asserted that prohibition was "in the interest of public morality," a needed reform because it was "for the welfare of the Republic, for the good of all, rich and poor, high and lowly, wise and unlettered" (Wilson, 1913, pp. 2, 8). In just the same way the pro-life movement has depicted abortion as the first sign of a greater moral decline. "If people can accept abortion," Father Vanderburg was

quoted as saying, "they can accept anything. It's just a sign of how decadent our culture has become" (Part of operation rescue, 1989, 524). In 1984, C. Everett Koop warned that abortion was the first step towards infanticide, and likened the problem to the disrespect for life that had developed in Nazi Germany (1984, 67-70; also Carlson, 1998). Abortion thus contains within itself a larger "question of public morality and justice," and for many it even becomes the "key issue of justice" (Degnan, 1985, 123; Part of operation rescue, 1989, 524).

Out of the "moral decay" argument evolve two specific rhetorical strategies: the reification of the decay, and the appeal to save future generations from the consequences of this generation's actions.

The Saloon and the Abortion Clinic

The Woman's Crusade of 1873-1874 began the modern temperance movement, as women across Ohio and the country closed down saloons by physically occupying the dens of iniquity (Bordin, 1981, pp. 15-33). Carry Nation, wielding her cask-bashing axe, is the best-remembered and most caricatured image of this movement. From that point in the movement, the saloon became the focal point of the temperance and prohibitionist rhetoric, such that the major political organization was named the Anti-Saloon League.

For the prohibitionist, the saloon was the locus of evil. In the movement's view, James Judge was not exaggerating when he declared it the "foulest and most dangerous foe of both our Church and country" (1915, p. 3). Said Robert Burdette to the Los Angeles Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), "it breaks the laws of God and man. It desecrates the Sabbath; it profanes the name of religion, it defiles the public order, it tramples under foot the tenderest feelings for humanity; it is a moral pestilence that blights the very atmosphere of town and country" (1904, p. 10). The moral agent most involved in the saloon, the saloonkeeper, was a particular focus of attack. Said Father Murphy, the saloonkeeper "may not have started into the business to do harm by it; but the evil spirit that is in the business

has taken hold of them. It is a bad business, and it makes them bad" (1913, p. 6). The saloon epitomized the moral decay caused by alcohol. The indecent behavior it promoted could be seen and heard, described in vivid, sensual terms that the audience could fully apprehend. By reifying the problem in the saloon and the saloonkeeper, the prohibitionists strengthened the force of their argument.

Similarly, the abortion clinic and the doctor performing the abortion have come to reify the pro-life argument. Like the Woman's Crusade, pro-life advocates have picketed and even occupied clinics so that, as Randall Terry, the head of Operation Rescue put it, "no babies were killed . . . today" (Cryderman, 1988, p. 48). The recent abortion clinic bombings in Atlanta and Alabama, the clinic shooting in Massachusetts, and the assassination of Dr. Stepian in New York illustrate the movement's focus on the abortion clinic as the locus of evil. Said one pro-life advocate, "philosophically, blowing up an abortion machine can't be wrong, because it's a machine used for killing innocent human beings" (Cryderman, 1988, p. 49). But the pro-life advocate need not be violently disposed towards the abortion clinic to still portray it as the reification of abortion's immoral nature. Their language is evaluative: the clinic is an abortion mill, analogized to the gas chambers at Auschwitz; the doctor is an abortionist and a butcher (e.g., Swomley, 1998, p. 35; Cryderman, 1988, pp. 48-49; Murphy, 1999).

Like the prohibitionist's saloon, the pro-life's abortion clinic instantiates the immorality of the deed, although not as readily as the former. The saloon could be seen by all, its presence relatively open, occupying a central place in the community. The abortion clinic is not so observable, and thus the movement's need to draw attention to the clinic by picket lines, demonstrations, placards, and the like. The movement has especially attempted to associate visual and auditory materials with the abortion clinic, and thus make public what is private by nature. "The Silent Scream," an ultrasound film of an abortion, is one example. Posters showing buckets of fetal parts, dead fetus pictures, and small wooden coffins are all attempts to make the clinic more sensory for the audience. As Peter Riga explained the

importance of these rhetorical tools, he underlined the nature of the clinic as reification: "People do not repent of what they are in the habit of doing; and the human race is in the habit of killing—in war, in death chambers, in abortion clinics. We get used to this evil until someone reminds us of it in vivid fashion" (1988, p. 502). For the pro-life forces, the doctors, the pictures, the buckets, and the coffins are all ways of making vivid—of bringing to life—the nature of the abortion clinic, and the immoral function of that place.

Save the Children

Just as the place is an important symbol for both movements, so too is the argument regarding the impact of the evil on succeeding generations.

According to prohibitionists, alcohol posed three threats to the children. First, it was detrimental to their living conditions generally. It robbed them of money better spent on food and medicine, and it deprived them of good, sober parents. Said Father Murphy, "when the little ones are crying at home for bread and the unfortunate father is dissipating, where do you find the man who is mean enough to take that poor unfortunate's money, and to look for it, and be angry if he does not get it? You find him in the saloon" (Murphy, 1915, p. 6). Second, alcohol threatened the children because it tempted them to evil. Prohibitionist rhetoric was replete with stories, sometimes fictional, sometimes not, of children who had tasted alcohol young and been led down the path of destruction. Judge O'Rear of Kentucky put the matter typically:

> How can you expect the rising generation to be what you have designed them to be, if in their school days you place them cheek by jowl with the barroom and its concomitant evils? . . . You would daily subject to the influence of those institutions the youth of your land, . . . when they most quickly and easily acquire habits and appetites and are most subject to temptations. (1915, p. 28)

Third, prohibitionists argued that, even for the non-drinkers among them, the next generation would be adversely affected by the moral decay that society allowed by permitting the sale of alcohol.

Crime, prostitution, and gambling all flowed from the saloon, they argued, as did political corruption in all its forms (e.g., Willard, 1874, np).

Pro-life's "save the children" argument has most clearly echoed the last two prohibitionist themes. Pro-life advocates argue that abortion threatens children first by killing them, and second by contributing to society's moral decay. The life-threatening argument is the most common, of course. "I'm here to try to save children's lives," said one abortion protester ("230 Abortion Protestors Arrested, 1989, p. 16A). Operation Rescue's protests, claimed director Randall Terry, "save thousands of babies" (Swomley, 1998, p. 35). More complex is the second argument about moral decay. As noted above, C. Everett Koop developed this theme in an essay called "The Slide to Auschwitz." As the title indicates, Koop argued that, by permitting widespread abortion, America was taking an important step to the devaluation of human life. "Earlier I expressed the concern that abortion of somewhere between a million and two million unborn babies a year would lead to such a cheapening of human life that infanticide would not be far behind. Well, you all know that infanticide is being practiced right now in this country" (Koop, 1984, p. 45; also see Carlson, 1998). A police officer who resigned rather than continue protecting an abortion clinic emotionally captured this sentiment in his public statement: "As a police officer, I was charged with the fundamental duty of protecting children. Instead, I complied like a good little Nazi and cleared a path for the destruction of our nation's children" ("Change of Heart in Mississippi," 1988, p. 63).

Other rhetorical similarities between the two movements could be discussed. Neither side could countenance compromise; both depicted their opponents as deceitful, insincere and duplicitous. But the similarities presented here are striking enough that they create an invitation for the pro-choice advocate to analogize the two movements. When one examines the rhetorical similarities between repeal and pro-choice, that invitation becomes more compelling.

Repeal and Pro-Choice

Two rhetorical tacks common to the repealers have been mirrored by pro-choice rhetoric, in large part because the rhetorics they have each responded to have been similarly constructed. First, each side has developed a reified image of the problems caused by legal prohibition. Second, both repealers and pro-choice have argued that a radical few have foisted their version of morality on the larger population.

The Speakeasy and the Back-Alley Abortion

Routinely, repealers countered the prohibitionist's saloon with the Prohibition-era speakeasy. "The difference between a saloon and a speakeasy," said the Rev. James Gillis, "is the difference between a snake in the open and a snake in the grass" (1930, p. 11). The speakeasy was, in fact, the saloon reinvented, in a "more hideous form than ever" (Broken Promises, 1930, np). By forcing the saloon underground, the prohibition of alcohol promoted hypocrisy, encouraged disrespect for the law, weakened the moral fiber, and debauched the young (e.g., Gross, 1929; and Kelley, 1930). The debauchery of the young occurred because, with alcohol illegal for all, there was no reason for the saloonkeeper not to sell to the minor. Claimed C. E. Broughton, "under our present system our high school girls and our high school boys are out nights, and you don't know where they are under Prohibition . . .. In the balmiest days of the saloon era you could not point to a single instance of a high school girl or boy being found there" (1930, pp. 19, 4). The speakeasy thus provided a rhetorical counterpoint to the prohibitionists' "save the children" argument, as well as the reification of the saloon. As Gillis framed it, "But what does it profit a city to abolish 11,000 saloons and get in exchange 32,000 speakeasies?" (1930, p. 10).

Like the repealers, the pro-choice movement has reified the dangers inherent in prohibiting abortion as a counter to their opposition's locus of evil. Like the speakeasy, the image of the back-alley abortion suggests that abortions, like the drinking of alcohol, will occur regardless of legality. "Outlawing abortion

won't stop it," claims one Planned Parenthood ad. It continues: "Women have always had abortions when they've felt there's no other way. Even at the risk of being maimed or killed with a back-alley abortion" ("What every man should know about abortion," 1985). Kate Michelman, director of the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL), reminded an interviewer that "it hasn't been that long since women died because of back-alley abortions" (Jubera, 1988, p. D1). The image of the back-alley abortion allows the movement to vividly portray the dangers inherent in making abortion illegal. In another Planned Parenthood ad, a doctor described his experiences: "When abortion was illegal, I treated women maimed and crippled by self-induced and back-alley abortions. I remember vividly the gruesome suffering and needless deaths that resulted from this butchery" ("How to prevent abortion," 1985). Yet another corporeal representation of the back-alley argument is the coat hanger. Finally, like the speakeasy, the back-alley argument can be framed as an issue of protecting the children. Said one pro-choice advocate, "In 1973, we thought this issue had been put to rest . . .. We thought that American women would no longer die each year from botched, illegal abortions. We thought we and our daughters were safe" ("Abortion rights activists set for march on capital," 1989, p. 4A).

The Fanatical Opposition

Repealers attacked the prohibitionists as fanatical, religious extremists who had foisted Prohibition upon an unsuspecting America. Prohibition was, Broughton said, an "act engineered by fanatics and extremists" (1930, p. 12). Gross claimed that prohibitionists were "men and women whose chief ambition in life is to go around snooping into other's lives, regulating lives other than their own" (1929). They were wicked, hypocritical, fanatical bigots (e.g., Phillips, 1930). Prohibitionists and their backers were "unreasoning individuals and congregations" who dealt in "tyranny, hypocrisy and deceit" (Church, 1930, p. 3; and Miller, 1930, p. 2). Significantly, the repealers created a lasting image of the prohibitionist as a religious extremist, one forcing others to adopt the prohibitionist's morality (Sinclair, 1962, p. 29).

Pro-choice advocates also portray their opposition as a minority of extremists attempting to impose their own brand of morality. For example, The Abortion Rights Activist home page indexes a page entitled "Understanding the Extremists." Planned Parenthood's home page has a similar section, called "The Far Right Speaks?" To the pro-choice rhetor generally, however, pro-life movement is not simply a minority, but a minority comprised of religious fanatics. "In the name of morality and religion," said the former director of Planned Parenthood, "extremists have taken it upon themselves to return us to the days when the poor were expected to practice self-control while the rich practiced birth-control" (Glazer, 1987, p. 542). Like the religious extremism attributed by repealers to the prohibitionists, pro-choice rhetors see in the pro-life movement a threat to core American values. Said one abortion rights newsletter, "religious fervor now combines with reactionary politics, resulting in a type of neofascism that threatens the very foundations of American life" (Olasky, 1987, 22). Just as prohibitionists were said to be exhibiting hypocrisy, so, too, is that a charge leveled at the pro-life movement. Said another abortion rights advocate, "it's a real control issue. The people in power in the anti-abortion movement are men. Very few women . . .. They are men trying to control women's lives" (Olasky, 1987, p. 18).

In sum, a strong similarity can be seen between the prohibition of alcohol and the prohibition of abortion. Both prohibition rhetorics are founded on claims of morality, both rhetorics reify the social decay, and both emphasize the importance of restoring morality in order to save the succeeding generation. Both rhetorics opposing prohibition are also similar, matching the opposition's reification with reification of their own that demonstrates the dangers in making illegal that of which the American people will avail themselves anyway. They are also similar in their depiction of the opposition as a minority of religious fanatics. Despite the strength of the analogy, however, it has gone unmade by pro-life rhetors as well as pro-choice rhetors. The next section examines why.

The Rhetorical Liabilities of the Analogy

The reasons for pro-life advocates avoiding the analogy are fairly obvious. In the popular mind, Prohibition was a failed policy. Engineered by moral fanatics, the story goes, the Eighteenth Amendment and its subsequent repeal stand as apocryphal proof in America that "you can't legislate morality" (E.g., Johnson, 1989, p. 25). Those who want to prohibit abortion stand little to gain by reminding the public of the prohibition of alcohol.

The pro-choice movement's avoidance of the comparison is more interesting, and better illustrates the need for critics to consider the unchosen analogy. In this case, the popular image of Prohibition would work in the pro-choice advocate's favor. Prohibiting alcohol turned the saloon into the speakeasy, and just so would overturning Roe v. Wade cause the abortion clinic to become the back-alley abortion. The media would accept the analogy, because it is a comparison already made. Wrote reporter Steven Holmes in Time magazine, "if the court dismantles Roe, the U.S. is likely to see a situation not unlike the one it lived through during Prohibition, when the law was flouted . . . very widely" (Holmes, 1989, p. 24). Further, the popular image that prohibitionists were narrow-minded religious fanatics perfectly fits a major argument of the pro-choice movement, and again, is a comparison that the media already employs. Reported Newsweek, "Many experts believe that restricting abortion would prove about as successful as Prohibition, when a small but vocal minority managed to criminalize liquor" (Salzholz and McDaniel, 1989, p. 30). The question is, why does the Prohibition analogy generally go unmade by the pro-choice movement?

I believe that, for the pro-choice advocate, two rhetorical liabilities constrain the use of the analogy. First, they do not wish to directly analogize the choice for an abortion to the act of drinking alcohol. Second, historical sensibilities constrain them from disavowing the temperance and prohibition movements, two reforms that were integrally entwined with the women's rights movement.

Although Prohibition is popularly perceived as a failure, alcohol's image has continued to have negative associations. Repealers did not praise the use of alcohol; they relied almost entirely on arguing that Prohibition did not prohibit. For the pro-choice movement, however, abortion is neither immoral nor disadvantageous. Indeed, understood as a significant mechanism for allowing women to control over their lives, it provides a positive good. The term "pro-choice" is indicative of this rhetorical position, as it celebrates the ability to have choices, and thus control. More, many pro-choice advocates see this as the key issue of women's rights. In a recent speech in Colorado, Kate Michelman called abortion "one of our most fundamental freedoms" (McAvoy, 1998). The Abortion Rights Activist declared abortion as part of a woman's "reproductive freedom" ("Women's health and fundamental rights seriously challenged by the 105th Congress," 1998). Molly Yard, president of the national Organization of Women, similarly located the idea of abortion within the lexicon of rights:

> We are here to say that American women will safeguard their constitutional rights to legal and safe birth control and abortion and we will work to add the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution. American women and girls will be free, and we will be equal to men in this country. ("300,000 Rally for Abortion Rights," 1989, p. 3A)

Thus, although the analogy to the Eighteenth Amendment would effectively promote one major argument--that making abortion illegal would push abortions into the back-alley--pro-choice advocates are unwilling to abandon a second, even more important argument: that abortion is a positive good that ensures women control over their reproductive destinies.

The second, probably lesser, reason for not employing the analogy is that, in doing so, pro-choice feminists would be disavowing their own history. Many suffragists of the mid and late nineteenth century were also active in the temperance/prohibition reform. For example, Susan B. Anthony's first public speech was at a dinner sponsored by the Daughters of Temperance (Merriam, 1987, p. 28). In 1852, Elizabeth Cady Stanton served as presiding

officer and delivered the opening address to the New York State Woman's Temperance Society (Waggenspack, 1989, pp. 25). Mary Livermore was not only an officer of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, she was president of the Massachusetts Woman's Christian Temperance Union as well (Gusfield, 1962, p. 88). Indeed, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, as staunch advocate of prohibition from 1879 on, also actively promoted woman's suffrage in the 1880s and 1890s (Bordin, 1981, pp. 121-122, 188). To use the Prohibition analogy as a means for arguing that prohibitionists were narrow-minded, religious fanatics would be to attack many of the heroines of the early woman's rights movement. That alone would be an important reason to avoid the analogy. When combined with the disadvantages of linking the images of alcohol and abortion, the analogy becomes a distinct liability. Thus, although the comparison is one the media is quite willing to employ, it is no accident, I would argue, that the analogy goes unmade by the pro-choice movement.

Conclusion

I have argued in this essay that the analogy between the prohibition of alcohol and the prohibition of abortion is a natural comparison to make. The media, for example, have already adopted the analogy as an explanatory schema for the issue. It certainly seems that the analogy would in some regards be an effective rhetorical choice for the pro-choice advocate. Polls have indicated that, for pragmatic reasons, most Americans support keeping abortion legal. Reifying the issue through the back-alley abortion has been persuasive. Analogizing the question of abortion to the lesson of Prohibition would reinforce the strength of that conclusion. However, polls also indicate that most Americans believe that abortion is, in some sense, wrong. That is, they have not been persuaded by the pro-choice movement's argument of reproductive rights and choice. Rather, they are unwilling to see government cater to those who want to "legislate morality" and thus drive the act of abortion into unregulated venues (e.g., Witt, 1999; Morin, 1989; "Ban on Abortion Not Favored By Most,

1989). The Prohibition analogy would be a persuasive way for pro-choice advocates to make the back-alley abortion and the religious fanatics arguments. It would, however, run counter to their belief that abortion is a positive instrument for securing women's rights, however. Their decision to avoid the analogy is thus an indication of the strength of their commitment to the reproductive rights argument, and is probably also a sign of their commitment to honoring the legacy of women's rights advocates.

Analogies and metaphors are powerful rhetorical tools. As important elements of our inventional processes, they make subtle and not-so-subtle arguments about the nature of our world. Critics have long recognized the importance of analyzing a rhetor's analogies for what they say about that rhetor's inventional strategy. In some instances, I submit, it is the road not taken, the unmade analogy, that may be the most interesting.

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Say, You Want a Revolution?

Roy Schwartzman
Constance Green

The connection of music with social change certainly is not new. With the Beatles, however, the relationship between musical innovation and challenges to the prevailing sociopolitical order acquires new subtlety that calls for re-examining the social roles of music. In this paper, we employ the concept of the enthymode, a combination of enthymematic reasoning and verbal modality, to enrich our understanding of how music interacts with its audience and sociohistorical context.

Before embarking on that journey, let us begin with some qualifiers regarding this essay. Some of these premises may be counterintuitive, especially considering the allusion to the Beatles in the title. First, this paper does not center on Beatles music. To employ the term "music" in the singular when referring to the Beatles is a misnomer. The corpus of music the Beatles produced is too diverse to pigeonhole into a single genre. To the extent that their music can be classified only within relatively uninformative generic parameters such as "rock" means that attempts to analyze Beatles music per se are fraught with difficulties from the start.

Second, the present discussion does not offer causal arguments about the connection between revolutionary music and social revolution, however the term 'revolution' may be defined. Regardless of the political implications that may be drawn from music generally and Beatles music specifically, the direction of influence between musical expression and social forces cannot be pinpointed, particularly if the relationship is conceived linearly with music being either an influence on or a mirror of social forces.

Third, while Beatles music certainly was revolutionary in a musical sense, it would be a poor choice to illustrate a path of social change through that music. Arguably the musical genre that best reflects the vicissitudes of life could be country music, with its predominant themes of relational adventures, alcohol abuse, and heartache told narratively. In fact, this narrative theme in country

music is so strong that it is difficult to conceive of a purely instrumental country song. Furthermore, blues music probably most articulately expresses the failures of life to meet hopes and expectations, and jazz captures the human ability and need to innovate and adapt. During the Vietnam era, folk music in the United States bore the bulk of the anti-establishment messages. With Jefferson Airplane detailing the wonders of drugs ("Go Ask Alice"), Country Joe and the Fish serving their vicious satires ("One, two, three, what are we fightin' for? Don't ask me, I don't give a damn. Next stop is Vietnam"), and Joan Baez protesting the war, the Beatles seem strangely removed from their immediate social context.

Having expressed these reservations, what remains to examine? This essay, within the preceding strictures, approaches the music of the Beatles as an illustration of how music can be appropriated to serve a variety of social causes. By appropriation, we refer to how audiences use music for their own purposes, often without regard to the historical conditions of its production. For example, Bruce Springsteen's "Born in the USA," with lyrics that starkly portray an American soldier mindlessly going "to kill the yellow man" because the government expects him to, paradoxically was popularized as a patriotic anthem for many audiences. Instead of exposing the foolhardiness of blind obedience and shame of American colonialism, in the hands of listeners the song reinforced the very sentiments its lyrics attacked. A "lyrical story . . . about a troubled Vietnam veteran [that] is both poetic and tragic" was transformed into "a celebration of American pride" (Sellnow, 1996, p. 56). The phenomenon of appropriation establishes a framework for how music can be examined as a social force without resorting to potentially unanswerable questions about composer intent or lyrical content. Instead, an examination of how different audiences and causes could employ Beatles music to suit their agendas will reveal how music becomes and remains a dynamic tool for social activism.

Music of the Beatles was chosen to illustrate the social value of music because it offers a rare example of popular music that has had influence through its musical techniques rather than just by means of its lyrics. The communication literature on the

persuasive value of music overwhelmingly focuses on analyzing lyrics. While concentration on lyrics has generated useful insights, it fails to account for the significance of music qua music. An analysis of lyrics alone insufficiently accounts for why the words were framed musically and the effect that such a musical setting has on messages and interpretations. Although many calls have been issued for scholarship that accounts for lyrics and music, few studies have attempted such an integration (Sellnow, 1996). Susanne Langer (1951, p. 177) observed that "a really powerful philosophy of symbolism" must account for musical form in a way that does not reduce it to mere outpourings of emotion. Langer also pointed out that the symbolic functions of music are not reducible to language (1951, p. 176). Extending Langer's argument, since musical symbolism and verbal symbolism are not equivalent, both deserve exploration in a thorough analysis of how music operates in various social contexts. The investigation of Beatles music sheds light on how potentially subversive political agendas become more focused and more palatable to mass audiences via particular musical techniques.

The Enthymode

The cycle of sound and receiver may be understood in terms of an enthymematic model; listeners "fill in" or interpret a song's relationship to their (the listeners') needs and environment. However, another aspect of song deals with the intended audience as receiver combined with mode of speech. Within the scope of this study, the combination of enthymeme and mode of speech will be referred to as the enthymode. Let us explore the two dimensions of this concept: the enthymematic aspect that allows audiences to participate in persuasion and the modality that offers models of experience unconstrained by the extant social conditions.

Framing music in enthymematic terms restores the active role that listeners play in constructing the interactions between music and social forces. In enthymematic reasoning, audiences "fill in" premises or conclusions that are not stated explicitly (Bitzer, 1959). Listeners thereby participate in the persuasive

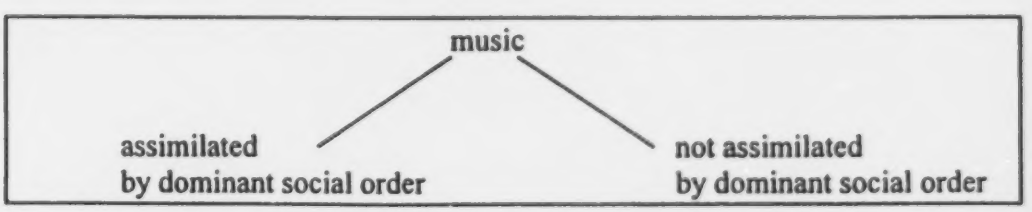
process, becoming partners in argumentative construction instead of passive spectators open to manipulation. Aside from songs that overtly declare a political agenda, much music functions enthymematically, offering subtler options for affecting human attitudes and behavior. Functioning persuasively, music invites listeners to construct their experience according to the patterns offered in the music itself. Instead of declaring that the world is disorderly, for example, the deliberate (anti-) melodic dissonance of Revolution # 9, reverse playback in Glass Onion, and synthesized sounds throughout the Sergeant Pepper album infuse musical order with disharmony. This demonstration of disorder invites listeners to experience musical disharmony that could mirror and reinforce social discontent. Such a means of persuasion exemplifies what Foss and Griffin (1995) call "invitational" rhetoric, which employs calls to participate rather than commands that listeners obey.

Placing music within the context of the enthymeme highlights the element of choice that can enter on the side of the composer/performer or the audience. The musician makes decisions about how to address an audience. For example, a lyricist might allude to political messages instead of stating them outright. The listeners also can choose how to connect their own interests and agendas with their musical experience. The integration of the listener's own (lived) experience with the musical experience allows listeners to understand themselves as being addressed by the music. If a song resonates with a listener's experience, aspirations, fears, or dreams, s/he can claim to be addressed directly: "That music speaks to me."

	Overt Persuasion (e.g., syllogism)	Enthymeme
Relationship of performer/composer to audience	command; comply with a predetermined agenda	join and participate in forming an agenda
Structure of appeal	premises and conclusion supplied for audience	at least one element supplied by audience
Discursive model	declaration	dialogue

The modal side of the enthymode comes into play in the sense of a modal verb. The mood of a verb, such as the subjunctive mood, is an inflection associated with a conditional or counterfactual claim (Woods, 1997). A famous example of verbal modality appears in Fiddler on the Roof: "If I were a rich man." Music in general is modal through its ability to offer a model version of experience that is not bound to existing social conditions. One example of this modality is the utopian visions offered by popular rock music, contrasting with the stark declarations of social ills narrated in rap (cf. Green, 1997).

The modality of music calls attention to dimensions of the relationship between music, society, and listeners. The most basic level of modality addresses whether music is assimilated into the extant social power structures. We begin, therefore, with an enthymodic fork depicting this alternative:

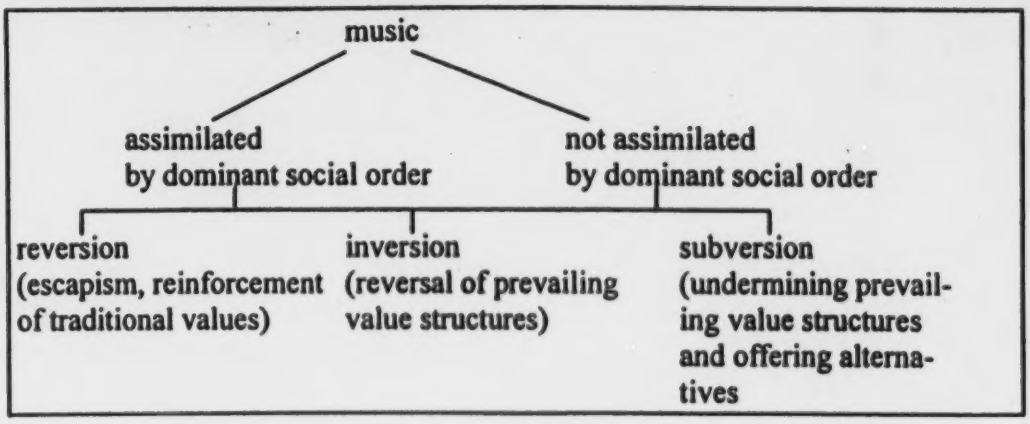


Music explicitly assimilated by prevailing social forces gets employed for "official" purposes, reinforcing existing social hierarchies and institutional structures. Nazi Germany provides perhaps the best example of this scenario, as certain musical styles

were identified as authentically German or Aryan and thus invested with official state legitimation. Music designated as acceptably Nordic was to be preserved and protected (Valentin, 1939). Any innovations in music, such as "the entire atonal movement," were treated as antithetical to the German worldview [Weltanschauung] (Rosenberg, 1935, n. p.). Music did not exist apart from its role in inducing conformity with government policies and ideologies.

Aside from assimilating music and giving it some uniformity so that an identifiable "authorized style" of music emerges, assimilation also can take the form of co-opting music that might undermine existing structures of authority. Marcuse (1965) recognized that potentially revolutionary movements can be tolerated and incorporated into the very authority structures they criticize. The apparatus of authority simply allows the movements to exist and touts its own broad-minded, liberal tolerance for dissent. Apparent openness becomes "repressive tolerance" (Marcuse, 1965) by diluting the revolutionary potential of opposition. When the movements are no longer perceived as antithetical to the existing order, their revolutionary potential wanes. Perhaps the death knell for "anti-Establishment" music, then, would be its inclusion on play lists of Top 40 radio stations.

If music is not simply absorbed into the prevailing social structures, at least three other options remain. These options are not mutually exclusive, especially since the same listener can approach the same musical composition differently at different times.


music
assimilated by dominant social order
not assimilated by dominant social order
reversion (escapism, reinforcement of traditional values)
inversion (reversal of prevailing value structures)
subversion (undermining prevailing value structures and offering alternatives

The enthymode permits conceptualizing the relationship between audience and artifact non-causally and non-directionally. Instead of falling into a chicken-and-egg game of whether music mirrors or responds to social forces, the enthymode allows a critic to map several logically possible relationships music enables listeners to construct between themselves and the social forces surrounding them. Like music itself, the enthymode constructs patterns of interaction between individuals and the societies in which they participate. Three ways of defining this political function of music will receive attention: reversion to acceptable values; inversion, or negating existing value hierarchies; and subversion, which propounds alternatives to those values.

Reversion as Strategic Retreat and Conformity

One way of approaching social realities through music is to deny the intersection between contemporary events and music. This strategy of reversion creates an idyllic, adolescent world where the listener can retreat from the demands of social forces. Sellnow (1996) characterizes Bruce Springteen's early work this way, calling his songs celebrations of "naive optimism" (p. 50). Reversion, however, should be understood as a coping strategy that music enables rather than an inherent quality of the music itself. Furthermore, reversion need not be associated solely with adolescence or failure to come to grips with reality. Reversion can be progressive if it contributes to a utopian social vision, although

reversion generally offers little encouragement to implement the utopian ideals beyond providing an escape for the individual.

Reversion tends to reinforce accepted social ideals and practices in the sense that the music invokes a simpler, happier time. Traditional values and customs are preserved and enshrined as ideal. Reversion can threaten the existing social order if used as a way to portray alternative social practices or doctrines as bland conformity.

"Do You Want to Know a Secret?"

"Disneyesque" is a word that springs to mind when referring to early images of the Beatle-style of performance. The song "Do You Want To Know A Secret?" a predominantly Lennon composition, was in fact very much influenced by the animated Disney feature-length film, "Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs" (Hertsgaard, 1995). Many of the Beatles' musical compositions were surreal extractions from childhood memories; in this case Lennon's mother sang to young John the "wishing well" song from the above film (Hertsgaard, 1995). His interpretation was derived from his memory of this fantasy animation of the classic fairy tale. In this case, reversion offers regression into a child's fantasies, free from adult worries and demands. The Lennon interpretation reverts to its originator with a subjective adolescent ethic that claims, "If you want to know a secret—you must promise never to tell." This claim also serves to establish a powerful social value to the word "secret," as if a secret is a prized possession worth risking the negative emotional investment of perpetual silence. Secrecy also allows one to withdraw from public life, an individual retreat from the polis where the possibilities of self-realization are limited.

It is worth mentioning that the terminology does more than just express feelings. The phrasing is absolutely calculated to arouse a feeling, and thus to stimulate action, indeed to issue a command. While it may be impossible to find a criterion to determine the validity of ethical and political judgments, it is certain that the these suggestions in the form of innocuous-seeming fairy tale language can enable audiences to respond to events by withdrawing from rather than plunging into public life. Such was

the case of "Do You Want To Know A Secret?" The child-like fascination with secrecy implies a conspiratorial silence with the Beatles. This silence, by its very mystery, threatens because it acquires conspiratorial overtones.

"I Wanna Hold Your Hand"

Lyric interpretation has forever immortalized this song, associating it with the mistaken interpretation by artist Bob Dylan. This lyric's typically innocent proclamation of attraction and desire declares, " . . . and when I touch you I feel happy inside—it's such a feeling that my love I can't hide—I can't hide—I can't hide!" Each refrain of "I can't hide" amplifies to a tension-building crescendo, so that by the last repetition the sound is literally screaming a plea of adolescent male, orgasmic fantasy. Humorously, the "I can't hide" lyric was misinterpreted by Dylan (who also recorded "Everybody Must Get Stoned") to become, "I get high—I get high—I get high!" Dylan took this as a poetic reference to say that the Beatles were smoking marijuana, which at this point, none of them had (Brown and Gaines, 1983).

A factor that complicates the structure of this innocent-seeming song is the prevalence of ambiguous symbols. We attend to symbols when the same symbol is used in different ways. An explicit definition may be unnecessary to an adolescent-aged audience when their idols serenade (or bombard) them with sound while singing lyrics that ask only to engage in handholding. However, the social knowledge of established courtship behavior within an adolescent age group encompasses attempts to use colloquialisms and euphemisms to make what may be unacceptable sound innocent and even child-like. Even the use of dialect ("I wanna hold your hand") lends a persuasive credibility to the song's innocence, since the use of dialect in both spoken and sung language is nearer to everyday speech patterns. Perhaps "holding hands" is symbolic of a somewhat more intimate act. During the period the song was written, the Beatles were performing in the red light district of Hamburg, Germany populated by prostitutes, strippers, and various hoodlum types (Norman, 1981). It is a naive assumption to presume that the only

interpretation of the lyric would be an activity common among children.

"Help"

Much of the body of musical composition done by the Beatles has been documented as biographical. In recorded interviews, John Lennon has asserted that the song "Help" was his cry for attention when he felt his life was no longer manageable (Wenner, 1971). The song ended up as the title song of the Beatles' second feature-length film. Lennon's assertion here is impossible to verify since much of both his life and rhetorical style was firmly based in his "double-meaning" existence and word play. This song, however, is also connected to other Lennon compositions, "I'm A Loser" and "Nowhere Man," each written with a caustic self-evaluation characteristic of the unrealistic expectations of adolescence. It is not within the scope of this study to evaluate the composers psychologically. We do seek to establish what is written as valid provisions for the evaluation of how audiences could interpret the messages in an enthymodic relationship. It is interesting to note that Lennon's cry for "Help!" included that he must have someone to assist him in his self-rescue. The theme of "rescue/rescuer" is pervasive in most narrative musical artifacts. It serves to reinforce a dominant cultural aspect of courtship behavior that continues the pattern of negating the value of self-worth in search of someone who can "fix" your problem—instead of doing it yourself.

All the Other "Silly Love Songs"

Love Songs. This category is, without doubt, the most humorous in its attempt to establish and sustain prevailing social orders. These orders often take the form of androcentric myths, told and retold in narrative form, to delineate the "proper" structure of "love" relationships. Typically, the male voice has decided the direction the relationship will take, only to be subverted by the vampish, manipulative female who has committed an act of treachery. In the music and artistry of the Beatles, the songs castigate the female to whom the song is sung about as often as often as they do not (cf. the idyllic "All My Loving"). In the composition, "Any Time At All," the lovesick adolescent boy proclaims: " . . . anytime at all, all you have to do is call, and I'll be there . . .." Conversely, the situation reverts back to the established codes of sexual interaction by reciprocating the pledge. The Beatles, especially Paul McCartney, were very proud that their body of work was largely in the category referred to as "love songs" (Aspinall and Wonfor, 1995). The "love song," however, is one-sided when performed by only one individual to another. The "script" is incomplete and often asserts a skewed viewpoint. Adolescence is a time of rebellion and a time of fantasy that takes the form of an idyllic sojourn into the realms of poetic double-speak, distorting a particular rendering of truth. The obvious question then becomes, what is love? From the early Beatle music frame of reference, love is a quest—a longing that is never satisfied in terms of a mature relationship, but exists as a male fantasy where women are all objects of desire who are inclined to be destructive heart-breakers.

Another interesting aspect of the "love song" occurs when songs do not denigrate the female object of desire, but poetically portray them as larger-than-life symbols of goddess proportion. When the female goddess predictably cannot live up to the unrealistic standard set forth, she is then a target for character assassination: a manipulative, deceitful bitch. Thus, the love song is more appropriately classified as the "I will adore you forever if you can adhere to my fantasy script" song. Part two of this fantasy script might be called, "but since you can't, you're a deceiver."

The implication here is that female failure (or females causing misinterpretation) is inevitable. One early example of this fantasy script dates back to the book of Genesis where that evil Eve ("Eve-il") is held responsible for the failings of humankind through Adam and the original sin. The scenario gets played out through modern pop music continually, perhaps in hopes that it will one day stick. Since the Beatles were all brought up within the confines of the Catholic Church, it is no wonder that this myth is regularly a theme in their idea of "love." Their later music would change this reflection somewhat with their interest in eastern philosophies, but always returns in some inventive incarnation.

Appropriation and Inversion

The strategy of appropriation involves "members of various disenfranchised social groups" attempting "to claim and utilize labels conventionally applied by their oppressors in a derogatory manner as a way of challenging their original meaning" (Shugart, 1997, p. 210). This definition, however, allows for expansion into nonverbal discursive realms. Instead of applying only to employment of labels, appropriation can extend to any form of embracing what has been deemed socially unacceptable or inappropriate to endorse publicly. Appropriation perhaps assumes its most familiar form as a means of empowering marginalized populations. Just before the Nazi annihilation of the Vilma ghetto, a Jewish theater troupe performed satirical plays. Half a century later, a resident of the ghetto still could laugh as she recalled songs she and her friends sang about the Nazi guards who were oblivious to food smugglers (Jenkins, 1994). These humorous responses to crises represent more than mere gallows humor. Comedy in these dire situations transgresses the rigid order that would be imposed on the Jewish population. Laughter thereby becomes a rebellious act, especially since the ability to laugh at a situation implies that one can gain some distance from it, refusing to become a mere victim (Jenkins, 1994). It is no accident that defiant laughter is understood as a gesture of independence, transforming resignation into enjoyment.

Music also can offer avenues of empowerment. Some scholars assert that pop or rock music erases individualism by standardizing cultural tastes (Bleich, Zillmann, and Weaver, 1991). This contention ignores the fact that the standard itself is transformed into a new vision expressed by minority groups and marginalized individuals who previously had no social "voice." Since appropriation operates by reversing the customary connotations of symbols, it explains how music can reverse prevailing metaphors and images. This musical inversion permits a reversal of symbolic polarity. Heretofore praiseworthy symbols (e.g., the American flag) are placed in a context that defies their traditional connotative force (e.g., as a call to invade and colonize "lesser developed" countries). Inversion can preserve as well as disrupt the existing social order. By negating the received hierarchy of values associated with a symbol, the structure of symbolic allegiances itself can begin to fracture. "Back in the USSR," for example, replaces the Beach Boys' unqualified regional adulation of women (East Coast girls, Southern girls, etc.) with praise for their Soviet counterparts (e.g., "Moscow girls"). The national and cultural hierarchy so strongly reinforced during the McCarthy era is turned upside down, with "East Coast girls" who "leave the West behind" denying the musical primacy of California (and the Beach Boys) and the cultural hegemony of the Western hemisphere.

In a similar vein, "Happiness Is a Warm Gun" celebrates the joys of shooting, both the discharge of a gun and a shot of heroin. The crooned lyrics express contentment totally at odds with the sadistic agonies of being a junkie or a murderer. The crooning, seductive melody contributes to the song's narcotic effect. Praise of anti-social activities seems much more palatable when framed as an euphoric experience minus the sharp edges of disharmony.

Perhaps the most obvious inversion is the transformation of the Madonna from virgin mother of Christ to tragic heroine of a narrative myth in "Lady Madonna." Lyrics and images invite audiences to construct an alternative story that replaces reverence with pity. Fragmentary references to Madonna's physical and financial limitations allow audiences to qualify and doubt the

utopian vision fostered by the traditional Madonna story. Audiences can reconfigure Madonna as a mother able to provide for some of her children only at the expense of not being able to "manage to feed the rest." The Madonna's unlimited mercy and divine powers become temporized, generating doubts about how she might "manage to make ends meet." Paul McCartney resurrected the temporized Madonna in his 1993 "Biker Like an Icon" solo tour. The central visual image, printed on souvenir t-shirts, depicts the Madonna in black leather Harley-Davidson garb.

On a less subversive level, inversion casts doubt on received connotations without disrupting the value hierarchy that fostered those connotations. Inversion operating in this way indicts traditions without attempting to replace them. Songs such as "Birthday" leave the social order intact, but recontextualize their subjects so those social events acquire new significance. The traditional "birthday song" repeats wishes for a happy birthday with the same monotony as the passing of the years themselves, to the point that it has invited parody:

> Happy birthday to you
> You belong in a zoo
> You look like a hippo
> And you smell like one, too.

The Beatles' "Birthday" song highlights the human community that birthdays occasion. Instead of repeatedly addressing birthday wishes "to you," the Beatles song lyric joyously proclaims: "It's my birthday too, yeah! We're gonna have a good time!" This structure invites the listener to participate in a "we" frame of reference allowing a form of merging between performance and audience. "Birthday" replaces the third-person address to a listener with a second-person plural invitation to join the party.

Inversion employs the rhetorical technique of reflection, which generates resistance to an object by reversing its connotations or inverting the hierarchy of values that fosters those connotations. Just as a mirror offers a reversed image of an object, reflection functions through negation. Reflection encourages consciousness-raising, although it does not articulate a new alternative to the values it questions (Shugart, 1997, pp. 219-220). The reflective version of appropriation can accomplish "the

cultivation of a critical awareness of oppression" (Shugart, 1997, p. 221). One must seek other means, however, to construct allegiances that could address the crisis of faith and erosion of custom that result from questioning what has been taken for granted.

Subversion

Shugart (1997) identifies a second form of appropriation, which she labels "refraction." Instead of simply turning the prevailing system of values upside down, refraction attempts a constructive replacement of those values. The replacement qualifies as a refraction because the proffered narratives or, in this case, music serving as models of organizing and interpreting experience, are designed to fulfill the needs satisfied by the extant value hierarchy. Music that is subversive in this sense constitutes a site for resisting customary or institutionalized beliefs and practices. Viewed as heterodoxy, subversion is perversion, a deliberate attempt to counter established order. Of course, subversion also runs the risk of evolving into a new, repressive orthodoxy by failing to recognize its own contingency (Wendt, 1996).

Signs of Secular Theology

Perhaps the most clearly articulated vision of a subversive alternative to tradition is the Beatles' approach to religion, especially Christianity. Not only the music but also the way it was presented and marketed establishes the groundwork for a secular theology. This paradoxical label designates how the Beatles approached self-deification, substituting faith in pop culture icons for faith in a transcendent God and religious symbols. Although vestiges of religious symbolism creep into the Beatles' music, these symbols are appropriated in ways alien or antithetical to customary religious dogma. Mark Lewisohn (1988), in his exhaustive transcripts of every Beatles studio session, never once indicates an intentional construction of any song to call attention to a biblical reference. Instead, a spiritual environment emerged that

was conducive to investing the Beatles with the status and devotion the Church had lost.

The strategic weaponry to subvert conventional religious authority was The Establishment's own most precious rhetoric: religious language and symbolism attached to profane objects. The "new spirituality" cultivated and nurtured by the Beatles provided a structure under which anyone of that era could find religious comfort and/or validation. On the one hand, John Lennon reintroduced the central theme of the Bible with the song "All You Need Is Love" to a live satellite audience. On the other hand, in his "Happiness Is a Warm Gun"—a thinly veiled reference to heroin addiction—Lennon's "Mother Superior" jumped the gun, or, the needle. McCartney's "Eleanor Rigby" was isolated and abandoned by the church she devoted her life to, then Father McKenzie walks away, wipes the dirt from his hands, and no one was saved. Not only has the Church proved ineffectual at salvation, but also the priest literally washes his hands of the deceased. "Rocky Raccoon" was without redemption save for the utterly valueless Gideons Bible placed in the drawer of his hotel room.

The most direct substitution of secular for sacred religion, especially in hindsight, must be the persona of John Lennon. His artistic collaboration with Yoko Ono included the two of them naked on the album cover, looking very much like a new world Adam and Eve. When the Beatles decided to form their own company, is it any wonder they opted for the name "Apple" to represent their business interests?

"The Ballad of John and Yoko" had John Lennon preparing himself to be crucified in the footsteps of Jesus Christ. Although his exclamation might qualify as an interjection, Lennon addresses Jesus as a peer: "Christ, you know it ain't easy/ You know how hard it can be/ The way things are going, they're gonna crucify me." The narrator addresses Jesus in second person, while mere humans are "them." The song proved prophetic. With Lennon's death came the image of Lennon as a Christ figure having been crucified by the society with which he was most closely identified. Audiences finally had a martyr during their lifetime. As did Christ, Lennon painted an idealistic world to which we should all

aspire in his most inspiring work, "Imagine." Even in this song that has served as his own epitaph, Lennon issues a reminder that his utopia may be spiritual without conventional religious trappings: "Imagine there's no heaven."

Revolution and Resolution

Any proposal for social reform must negotiate the conflicting impulses of faith and fantasy. The urge to fantasize highlights the gap between expectations and reality, prompting distrust in the status quo. The accompanying faith vested in an alternative to the existing order cannot ossify into dogmatism lest the new social order become as restrictive as what it replaced. In a word, activism has to balance the desire for revolution with the craving for resolution. At some point, those who would rebel against social injustice must be capable of articulating what would satisfy their demands. Just as the skeptic finally must believe something to avoid falling into infinitely regressive doubt (Wittgenstein, 1969), the social activist needs to articulate some goal beyond stirring up agitation. In the words of Country Joe, we need to know "what are we fighting for," not just who the opponents are.

"Revolution" lyrically and musically expresses this quandary of the revolutionary. The song begins with an assaultive guitar riff and a scream, much as a revolution would introduce enthusiastic discontinuity into the course of events. The refrain reassures listeners that " . . . it's gonna be all right," offering a harmonious antithesis to the introductory scream. The lyrics also introduce qualifiers to the revolutionary mentality. "Minds that hate" and "destruction" are off limits, a stark contrast to the more militant wing of the American civil rights movement (e.g., Malcolm X) that sought equality by any means necessary.

"Revolution #9" exemplifies the logical extreme of agitative fervor: a totally chaotic barrage of noises reflecting the breakdown of coherence. Indeed, the insertions of everything from conversational fragments to traffic sounds reveals the loss of direction that accompanies absence of a cause. Revolution, far from serving a noble cause, is now so routine that the revolutions

are numbered to keep them distinct. Historically successful revolutions have been singular events, at least grammatically: the American Revolution, the French Revolution, the Russian revolution, the sexual revolution.

"Revolution" and "Revolution #9," taken together, frame social change as a threat to the existing social order, but also as a means of constructing a positive alternative to that order. Aside from the rudiments of a secular religion, the Beatles never clearly articulated what a post-revolutionary state of affairs might be. Listeners might be incited to act, but the listeners themselves must construct the precise goals that might motivate and sustain action. That constructive task lies at the heart of the enthymode's enthymematic invitation for audiences to participate in their own persuasion.

Implications

Our examination of music and social change has a more modest goal than to show how music can radicalize listeners. We have elaborated how music that is not explicitly political offers opportunities for reinforcing, challenging, or transcending established norms. The contention that music has political potential should not be confused with the claim that all music is political. The political implications of music are constructed by listeners, and these employments may be unauthorized or unrealized by the composers and musicians themselves. This essay avoids locating political power in music because this view invests music with social force independent of its audience. Paradoxically, music would in some sense contain radical social messages regardless of whether social actors recognized and acted upon those messages. In effect, music would have a social side that does not require society.

Concentration on music qua music, and not in isolation from its social context, also furthers reservations about postmodern contentions concerning the primacy of verbal language (Schwartzman, 1997). Language might be central to how humans experience reality, but verbal language need not assume epistemological or temporal priority over nonverbal or musical

communication. As this essay suggests, music can shape perceptions as well as express the outcome of those perceptions. More broadly, music mediates the relationships between individuals and political reality. The enthymode offers a way to systematize and trace these relationships. In configuring the world as a text, in the beginning was the word. In composing the world as interpreted through music, in the beginning was the musical note.

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Exploring the Relationship Between Perceived Narrativity and Persuasiveness

Richard Olsen
Rodney A. Reynolds

Since Walter Fisher (1984, 1988, 1989) first published his conception of human communication as narration in 1984, there has been controversy concerning the scope and value of his perspective. Fisher's work challenged the assumption of Western thought that rational argument is the natural or superior form of discourse when dealing with significant issues. According to Fisher, argument within a rational world paradigm invokes the use of experts and specialized reasoning. While Fisher did not deny that expertise could be valuable, he argued that humans possess a more fundamental means for assessing significant issues, has called this means "narrative rationality." Though interpretation and judgement are culturally and historically grounded, narrative rationality subsumes and transcends other forms of rationality

Fisher's position has been challenged on several grounds. First, there is criticism regarding the utility of the narrative paradigm for assessing human communication. Is narrative truly a fundamental way of being and a mode of perception, or simply a genre that is sometimes appropriate for expressing our experiences? Rowland (1987, 1989) in particular has called for a limiting of the concept of narrativity to a *mode* of discourse. Second, there is debate regarding Fisher' s two key terms, "narrative coherence" and "narrative fidelity" and whether they are conceptually distinct. Indeed, it can be argued that many who challenged Fisher's claims (Warnick, 1987; McGee and Nelson, 1985; Farrell, 1985) have taken issue primarily with his analytical concepts of coherence and fidelity which he offered to communication scholars, rather than with his philosophical assumptions. In addition, these critiques have been largely rhetorical rather than empirical in nature. The present study uses empirical methods to investigate Fisher's following fundamental claims: 1) Man as communicator is best understood as *homo*

narrans, and 2) narrative rationality is invoked—particularly by non-experts—when assessing communicative acts of substance. By labeling humans as *homo narrans*, Fisher is asserting that our most fundamental characteristic is that of storyteller. He also asserts that humans use narrative rationality, which is the application of narrative coherence and narrative fidelity, to assess significant acts of communication.[1] If Fisher's conception of humans and human communication is correct, than messages that rate high in appealing to the narrative rationality of audience members should also rate high in other measures of effective persuasion.

This project seeks to explore and clarify the relationship between the perceived narrativity of a message and its perceived persuasiveness. Such a project is unique for several reasons. First, the study empirically examines Fisher's claims that link the presence of fidelity and coherence with the positive assessment of a message by a non-expert audience. Second, this report uses the recent empirical measure of narrative fidelity and coherence developed by Baesler (1995). Baesler attempted to quantify the narrative dimensions (coherence and fidelity) of a message by developing the COFIDEL instrument. The instrument allows a receiver of a message to quantify his/her assessment of the degree to which the message "hangs together" and "rings true." In addition, Baesler included items regarding the immediate persuasive impact of the message. The data could then be used to assess the persuasiveness of a message from a narrative paradigm perspective. Baesler's found his version of the instrument reliable in studies using messages constructed specifically to test the consistency and reliability of the instrument and the persuasiveness of the messages themselves. Baesler used stepwise multiple regression, with persuasion as the criterion variable, and narrative coherence and fidelity as predictor variables. He found these

[1] Narrative coherence refers to whether or not the story "hangs together" and is internally consistent. Narrative fidelity refers to whether or not a story "rings true" with the overall life experience of the receiver of the message. If the story fosters significant resonation with the listener's experience or perceptions then it would have a high amount of fidelity.

variables accounted for 42% (adjusted R^2) of the variance for the written narratives. The current study extends his efforts by using COFIDEL with pre-existing messages designed to persuade receivers to accept a religious belief.

The messages explored in this study were evangelistic tracts.[2] Despite the fact that they are persuasive artifacts about significant issues, communication scholars have not investigated evangelistic tracts in any systematic way. This study provides some insight into how they operate within communities of faith and whether or not they are considered a persuasive means of communicating faith to others. Equally important, these evangelistic tracts also offered an efficient means of engaging a core value issue—in this case religious values—that is an important requirement for Fisher's system. .

An overlooked value of narrative as a paradigm lies not so much in the analysis of message production, but in message reception. If man is *homo narrans*, then both production *and reception* are guided by Fisher's concept of narrative rationality. This study focused on the receivers' ability to perceive narrative in a message and explored the extent to which that perceived narrativity was associated with perceived message effectiveness.

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[2] Literature related to tracts/pamphlets (short direct messages designed and folded in such a way that they are easy to carry, and distribute) is virtually non-existent. Gronbeck (1972) offered an historical/rhetorical analysis of political pamphlets surrounding an historical event but offered no generalizable constraints regarding pamphlets that could inform the present study. The Journal of Communication volume 35 (1985), number 1 devoted a major portion of the journal to the examination of mediated ministry. However, the emphasis was on electronic media and focused on topics present in the discourse, not how the discourse functioned *per se*. Wuthow (1988) makes a strong call for analysis of religious discourse as discourse. Calling for studies in marked contrast to those offered in the Journal of Communication issue above, he argues for a focus on the *how* of religious discourse rather than mere topic analysis. Wuthow did discuss narrative as it related to the parables but did not draw from Fisher or offer insights into the larger issues of argumentation or religious rhetoric.

Assessing Effectiveness

How do we know if a message is/has been effective? Despite the obvious centrality of this question, no overarching measure exists in the anthologies of communication measures to assess the actual or perceived effectiveness of a persuasive message. One of the reasons for this may be that the criteria for effectiveness changes within various approaches to influence. It is beyond the scope of this study to review the efforts made by previous scholars to explore the relationship of such variables as organization, amount of evidence, audience intelligence, audience knowledge, among others and their potential relationship to persuasion. In this study, narrative is viewed as both a function of message content and structure, and a unique characteristic of the audience. This assumption informs our measures of effectiveness.

For Fisher, narrative rationality is linked with Burke's (1950) notion of identification (1989, p. 66). This implies that part of the means and results of effective persuasion is a sense of relationship with the messenger. As Kelman (1958) has noted in his discussion of identification within his three-level typology, one "adopts the induced behavior because it is associated with the desired relationship" (p. 53). For Kelman, and for Fisher, this relationship is not solely interpersonal/dyadic but may also be seen more globally in terms of community membership. Currently, there is no established instrument to assess the degree to which receivers feel identification with the "speaker" of a given message. To address this dimension, four original items were incorporated into this study to assess participants' identification with the author of each message.

In addition to identification, Fisher claims that a message that adheres to the standards of the narrative paradigm should also raise relevant values and "generate a sense of what is good as well as what is reasonable . . . without dictating what they should believe" (1989, p. 113). He is not dismissing the persuasive function of narrative (p. 57), but suggesting that while deliberation and argument in the traditional sense may or may not be present, cognitive activity by the listener should be. Reynolds (1986) developed a set of items that measures perceived cognitive activity

in relation to a given message. These items have an inter-item reliability of .84. Reynold's 12 items that deal specifically with cognitive elaboration of the message were used in this study as way to operationalize and measure this component of effectiveness as identified by Fisher. An admitted limitation of this study is the use of self-report data on perceived persuasiveness of the tracts.

Purpose of Study

This study contrasted two different messages that dealt with the same issues and sought similar responses from the audience. One message adheres to the characteristics typical of a rational paradigm argument as described by Fisher: appeals to expert sources, topical rather than sequential organization, and an overall structure that can be seen as deductive and syllogistic in nature. This message is referred to as the "argument message."

The second message is one of a personal story or "testimony" involving the author of the tract. The organization is more sequential and dramatic rather than syllogistic. This message is referred to as the "story message." It is called the "story message" and not the "narrative message" because Fisher argues that all messages are narrative to some degree. The story message is more explicitly narrative with respect to its *surface* structure. This distinction will become clearer in the hypothesis presented below.[3]

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[3] Fisher (1988) offers a distinction between several meanings of narration. Narration[1] which refers to "an individuated language form, a characterization, a depiction, or anecdote" which may appear in any human discourse (p. 50). Narration[2] refers to the category or genre "which is often used to contrast with argument" (p. 50). Finally, narration[3] is the label for "a conceptual framework for understanding human decision, discourse and action" (p. 50). While we appreciate these distinctions, the system offered via superscript is awkward at best. Consequently, we pattern our "story/argument" distinction after Weal (1985) who noted that stories offer plot advancement by the actions of character and a distinct form that sets them apart from technical argument. This distinction is valid for Weal even though a particular piece of rhetoric may function as both "art and argument" (p. 105).

Given the assumptions made by Fisher in the narrative paradigm, the following hypotheses guided this project.

H1: The "story message" will rate more highly on effectiveness measures than the "argument message."

The narrative form should be more "natural" for *homo narrans* and will therefore be rated more highly on effectiveness, identification and cognitive elaboration measures.

H2: The correlations between narrative coherence and fidelity with effectiveness, identification, and cognitive elaboration will vary between the "story message" and the "argument message."

This is where the distinction between narrative and story becomes important. If we are indeed *homo narrans* then we are predisposed to derive or assemble a narrative from a more traditional "argument message." Those participants that are able to "see" the narrative in the argument will rate the argument message as more effective than those that do not perceive a narrative will. On the other hand, if perceptions of narrativity are more a function of the structure of the messages, then the narrative nature is less likely to be attributable to the perceiver.

Method

Participants

The sample (n=64) for this study consisted of members of several church youth and singles groups, as well as students in undergraduate communication classes at a large state university. We were not able to get enough participants who professed to be non-Christians to make a useful cell of non-Christian responses. Despite the opportunistic nature of the sampling, the gender split and exposure to message type were equal between samples. Because of the religious nature of the tracts, the university students were reminded that their participation was voluntary and that alternate forms of extra credit would be made available to them should they decline to complete the study.

Procedure

Participants were randomly assigned message treatments and required to read either the argument message or the story message. They then filled out a forty-six-item questionnaire (see appendix A). Twenty-three of the questions were a modified form of Baesler's (1995) COFIDEL instrument. Minor vocabulary changes were made in order accommodate the assessment of a broader range of messages. For instance the word "story" was changed to "message" to avoid generating bias against the argument message in the sample. Additional items were also developed for constructs that originally had only two items. These items were derived from careful examination of Fisher' s work.

Baesler's (1995) scale assessed the participants' perceived narrativity of the message. Three other measures were used to assess the perceived effectiveness of the message. First, Reynold's (1985) 12-item cognitive elaboration scale was used to explore the extent to which participants actively engaged each message type. Second, since Fisher argues for identification in the Burkean sense as an ideal outcome, a four-item identification scale was developed using the works of both Fisher and Burke as guidelines. Finally, a four-item scale for perceived overall effectiveness was constructed.

The messages for this study were drawn from existing evangelistic tracts (see appendix A). The tracts were retyped so that formatting and visual impression was consistent between the two samples.

Results

The measurement reliabilities were acceptable. The cognitive elaboration measure had an overall alpha of .89. The perceived overall effectiveness measure revealed an alpha of .76. The identification scale resulted in an alpha of .69. The narrative fidelity items, after removing five items that did not meet minimal criteria for inclusion in the correlation matrix (i.e., average inter-item correlation with other items was below .20) yielded an alpha of .85. The narrative coherence measure, after removing one bad item, provided an alpha of .72. Baesler (1995) reported greater

difficulties with the coherence portion of his scale than was encountered here.

In analyzing the first hypothesis (message type will influence various effectiveness measures), a standard t-test between the two treatments was run. There were two message types and three measures of effectiveness (cognitive elaboration, identification, and perceived effectiveness). The mean score for cognitive elaboration measures for the argument treatment was 0 = 4.52 (s =1.2) and the mean for the story treatment was 0 = 5.01 (s =1.2), which was not a significant difference. For the identification measures, the argument message elicited an average response of 0 = 4.07 (s =1.5) with a story treatment score of 0 = 4.26 (s = 1.5), which also was not a significant difference. The perceived effectiveness measures had an average of 0 = 3.82 (s =1.4) for the argument message and 0 = 4.07 (s =1.4) for the story message, which again was not a significant difference.

None of the differences were statistically significant, which is counter to the proposed hypothesis that suggested the story message would score higher. Thus, the first hypothesis was not supported.

Correlation Coefficients

	Effectiveness	Identification	Cognitive Elaboration
Narr. Coherence	.53	.44	.28
Narr. Fidelity	60	.62	.45

Correlations of Fidelity with Effectiveness, Identification and Elaboration

	Effectiveness	Identification	Elaboration
Story Message	70_b	$.65_b$	$.62_b$
Argument Message	$.52_a$	$.61_b$	$.30_a$

Note: correlations within columns with the same subscript do not differ significantly.

Correlations of Coherence with Effectiveness, Identification, and Cognitive Elaboration

	Effectiveness	Identification	Elaboration
Story Message	62_a	$.33_a$	$.26_a$
Argument Message	$.44_b$	$.54_b$	$.25_a$

Note: correlations within columns with the same subscript do not differ significantly.

The second hypothesis (variation of COFIDEL correlations with effectiveness, identification, and elaboration scores across treatments) was examined by use of Pearson=s product-moment correlation.[4] The second hypothesis was partially supported. The associations for fidelity with effectiveness and elaboration were stronger for the story message than for the argument message. The message fidelity and identification association was consistently high across both message structures. For coherence, however, the association with effectiveness was stronger for the story message but the association with identification was stronger for the argument message. The message coherence and elaboration association was consistent but not strong across both message structures.

[4] Baesler has argued that the individual narrative coherence and narrative fidelity scores showed low to moderate internal consistency while the summative ratings were much more acceptable. Consequently, he used the summative scale for both NC and NF.

Discussion

The most important finding in this study is the strong effects that message coherence and fidelity had upon perceptions of message effectiveness and identification with the speaker. There was some evidence that the strengths of these effects vary with the type of message, but such evidence pales in the light of the solid documentation here that audiences respond more favorably to messages that have coherence and fidelity. Beyond the hypothesized relationships explored in this study, the second most intriguing finding is the link between identification and message effectiveness. The Pearson correlation between identification and effectiveness was .69, clearly warranting further investigation. If Burkean identification can be measured, then our understanding of this fundamental concept, which is a core requirement for narrative and non-narrative approaches to influence, may be enhanced. This study demonstrated that revisiting Kelman's (1958) process approach to the study of attitudes and communication, which is quite complimentary to Burke's perspective, may be a useful starting point.

There is no evidence here that message structure directly affects perceptions of effectiveness, identification, or message elaboration in these religious tracts. However, the lack of support for the first hypothesis may be a function of the particular messages chosen. The participants clearly gave both messages relatively neutral evaluations on effectiveness, identification and message elaboration. A second explanation is the familiarity level with the issues discussed in the tracts for the participants. Most of the respondents professed to be Christian and many were college educated. The ability to engage the two messages through their existing theological framework may have allowed them to resonate with both tracts equally well. A more divergent sample might, therefore, provide different distributions of responses to the two types of messages.

The variation in correlations between coherence and fidelity with effectiveness, identification, and message elaboration supports the conclusion that narrative effects are partially a function of message structure. It makes some sense that a story

structure would demonstrate linkages between coherence and effectiveness since a strong part of coherence has to do with organization of the parts of the message. Arguments, as shown by Toulmin and Perelman's work, may also have an overall coherence that moves beyond strictly syllogistic logic. There was a stronger link between coherence and message elaboration for story structures over argumentative messages. This probably reflected the greater demands story structures place upon the recipient to interpret the message. Argument structures often present the messages with the essentials already abstracted out and juxtaposed for analytic consideration. With the fidelity and effectiveness being stronger in story-based structures than argument messages, it would appear that the recipients appreciate a story message that actually has a point and presents values that have real word applications. The stronger link between fidelity and identification in the argument-based messages may again reflect the fact that much of the sample was college educated and trained, or being trained to think logically. Therefore, the argumentative message may have better reflected the participants' expectations for a message. Given that similarity in thought processes, it seems reasonable that the recipients are more likely to want to be with and liked by the source of the argumentative message and, therefore, rate that message higher in identification. Another explanation is that the narrative tract is much more extreme in its depiction of the spiritual realm and may have fostered negative low identification marks for that reason. Obviously, all of these patterns deserve further formulation and observation. The findings above indicate that empirical investigation of the narrative paradigm—since it is as much a philosophy as a testable theory—is challenging but potentially fruitful and worthy of further attention.

This study has practical implications for public speakers and public speaking teachers as well. The fact that identification was so highly correlated with effectiveness should put it at the heart of any speaker's goals and public speaking curriculum. This study also shows that not just any story will generate identification and that some arguments may generate more identification than some stories. There is often an unnatural split between the

"relational" aspects of a speech and the key arguments of a speech (not unlike the distinction between form and substance). This study reveals the shortcomings of such an approach and can inform the practice and teaching of public speaking in that regard.

The final issue raised by this study is the difficulty of researching narrative rationality as a fundamental characteristic of human communication and cognitive processes. Testing whether a story *mode* or an argument *mode* is a more effective type of discourse only gets at part of Fisher's argument. The core issue is clarifying the extent that perceived narrative coherence and fidelity co-vary with perceived effectiveness and, ultimately, external measures of message influence. This study, while limited in its own findings, does point to the promise of this line of research and the COFIDEL instrument as tool for advancing our understanding of narrative conceptions of human communication.

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IN SEARCH OF "ATONEMENT AND RECONCILIATION": PRESIDENT CLINTON'S ANTICIPATORY RHETORIC AND THE MILLION MAN MARCH

Marouf Hasian, Jr.

As Jamieson (1993) recently observed, some of our communication norms "reward messages that are dramatic, personal, concise, visual, and take the form of narrative" (p. 17). Within this fragmentary world, politicians have to adapt their strategies to ephemeral audiences that have constantly changing needs and desires. While these social agents have a number of discursive structures readily available for the purposes of persuasion—ideographs, icons, and characterizations are just some examples—oftentimes political actors choose to deploy larger narratives that build on the "expectations of native speakers in a culture" (McGee & Nelson, 1985, p. 149).

In this essay, I contend that the President's discussion of "atonement" and "reconciliation" prior to the major events of the Million Man March allowed him to craft a moralistic narrative that helped redefine "racism" in ways that were acceptable to mainstream America. By neither ignoring the nation's problems nor centralizing racial conundrums, he was able to contain the rhetorical force of Farrakhan's arguments. Clinton's narrative provides us with a clear example of what might be called "anticipatory" rhetoric, where an opponent's major arguments are domesticated because they are openly discussed in ways that do not threaten audiences' expectations.

In the fall of 1995, President Clinton faced a difficult situation. As a speaker who aimed his messages at the "forgotten middle class" (Smith, 1994, p. 6), he now found his moderate racial politics challenged by Louis Farrakhan, a charismatic black activist who claimed responsibility for the Million Man March. As Manning (1998) would later opine, Farrakhan's address that day resonated with millions of Americans because it touched on such issues as personal responsibility, self-help, and patriarchy. His

speech at the March, that highlighted the importance of national "atonement" for historical injustices (Murray, 1997), encouraged both politicians and lay persons to think about the need for moral and economic regeneration. Such a stance provided a direct critique of incremental policies that treated "racism" as an individual rather than institutional problem.

In order to illustrate how Clinton tried to domesticate these claims through his anticipatory rhetoric, this essay is divided into three parts. The first section illustrates some of the rhetorical constraints that were placed on the President. The second part provides a close textual reading of Clinton's Austin address presented just hours before Farrakhan's speech in Washington, D.C. Finally, in the third segment of the essay, I assess the significance of the chief executive's performance.

Situational Constraints: Anticipating the Challenge of the Million Man March

For many members of the African American community, President Clinton had earlier sent ambivalent signals regarding the issues of affirmative action and racial equality. One public policy analyst characterized Clinton's policies as crisis management responses rather than any coherent project (Walton, 1995, p. 20). The chief executive had come out defending the importance of some preferential programs for blacks, but qualifying terms that pointed to the abuses in such programs often followed this discourse. At the same time, Clinton had changed his mind on a number of African American advisee appointments, including those of Lani Guinier for Assistant Attorney General of Civil Rights and Surgeon General Jocelyn Elders. At the other end of the political spectrum, conservative blacks lamented the ways in which the President had forgotten the need for "color blindness" in government programs.

Louis Farrakhan and his supporters had been planning the Million Man March for years, and in the early months of this project the Clinton administration chose to ignore these preparations. Yet in the weeks prior to the march, it became increasingly evident that Farrakhan's march on Washington was

going to become a major political spectacle. As McPhail (1998) averred, Farrakhan's rhetoric called for "reparations and redemption" in ways that created "a climate of separation and division" (p. 417). Clinton and his staff may have been uncertain about the exact words that would be spoken by this famous orator on this particular day, but they could make educated guesses about some of the general themes that might be addressed.

President Clinton had the unenviable task of trying to respond to the needs of African Americans who still believed that they had the right to participate in an American polity, but who worried that the nation remained separate, divided, and unequal (Hacker, 1992). Million of Americans waited anxiously to see how Clinton would discuss the volatile issue of race.

A Textual Analysis of Clinton's Austin Address

In order to assuage the fears of his audience, Clinton used a four-part strategy in his anticipatory answer to Louis Farrakhan: he recontextualized the issue of "race" for his audience; he attempted to separate the message from the messenger; he redefines the notion of "atonement,"; and he deployed a racial narrative that reconstructed the historical meaning of America.

Condit and Lucaites (1993) contend that the issue of "race" creates difficult dilemmas for American politicians, and the fragmentation of our rhetorical culture has exacerbated the situation. For any national leader in search of unity and identity, the clarion call for community can often be interpreted as majority politics, and the rise of separatist figures like Farrakhan provides multiple challenges to classical liberal theories. In an earlier study of demagoguery and symbolic alignment, Goldzwig (1989) argued that Farrakhan has a special talent for finding "a moral imperative" for "consensus breaking" (p. 214). In this particular historical juncture, the Million Man March on Washington seemed to create the type of crisis that demanded an epic presidential response.

President Clinton prepared himself carefully for this exigence. Although he would pursue a number of strategies that would be used in helping him respond to this challenge, one of the most persuasive tactics used by the chief executive involved a

recontextualization of the issue of "race" in the United States. Since the early 1960s, the leaders of the Nation of Islam have continually discussed the pernicious effects of "white" racism, so Clinton and his staff had a wealth of material available to them in preparing an answer to the question of racial supremacy. Very early in his Austin address, Clinton (1995) preempted the expected Farrakhan focus on separatism by admitting that the question of "race" was a thorny subject for the nation (p. 1848). While noting that "White Americans and black Americans" often "see the same world in drastically different ways," the President presented a message of hope that built on the work other social reformers (p. 1848).

In Clinton's framework, America's racial problems did not come from any single racial community. Freedberg (1995), a correspondent for The San Francisco Chronicle, would later observe that the President's message seemed to concede the need for the alleviation of racial prejudice, and would focus instead on the conditions that created America's "racial question" (p. A5). For example, in one part of his presentation, the President remarked that:

> The reasons for this divide were many. Some are rooted in the awful history and stubborn persistence of racism. Some are rooted in the different ways we experience the threats of modern life to personal security, family values, and strong communities. Some are rooted in the act that we still haven't learned to talk frankly, to listen carefully, and to work together across racial lines. (p. 1848)

Later on in his address the President listed a plethora of other problems associated with racism--including disrespect for the law, ineffective parenting, alcoholism, lack of guidance, and domestic violence, lack of family stability, and missed economic opportunities.

Attempting to appeal to whites and people of color, the President excoriated racism on both sides of the divide, lamenting the fact that all of the members of the "two" communities do little help each other in the way of communication. More importantly, "race" became an issue of personal responsibility that could not be remedied by the quick fix of separatism.

At the same time that Clinton recontextualized the racial problems in America, he was careful to disassociate the motives and activities of the Million Man March from the beliefs of Farrakhan. While applauding the motives of those Americans interested in self-help, independence, and community, he nevertheless warned that there are those who are more interested in "malice and division" (p. 1849). Furthermore, Clinton quickly distinguished between those marches that were instigated by social actors desiring "dignity, equality, and economic justice" (p. 1848), and those agitations that were merely in search of "further separation," "bitterness," and "more lost futures" (p. 1849). Given the occasion, there was perhaps no better exemplar of this dignified creed than the late Dr. Martin Luther King. Jr.

As Freedberg (1995) explained, at one time both Martin Luther King, Jr. and John F. Kennedy seemed to believe that "atonement" for the nation's historical sins would come from government support of the civil rights movement (p. A5), but the effectiveness of this approach has been a continual point of controversy. The President therefore needed to recraft his message of racial harmony in unique ways that would appeal to listeners who might accept the importance of moral regeneration and economic uplift, but the agency of change needed to shift away from government intervention and toward individual and community initiatives. This consubstantiation of "atonement" with the non-violent and gradualist tactics of the civil rights movement reinterpreted the framework of national conversations so that social agents would move away from separatist rhetoric and toward moral suasion.

With the passage of 30 years has come the apotheosis of Martin Luther King, Jr., and Clinton had little trouble donning the mantle of this great leader. In his rhetorical response to Farrakhan, the President juxtaposed the enduring principles of King against the false prophetic messages of the pretender Farrakhan. Blending together the power of ideography and iconography, Clinton invited his readers to remember another message sent by a purportedly more representative messenger:

> Almost 30 years ago, Dr. Martin Luther King took his last march with sanitation workers in Memphis . . .. Many

> carried placards that read simply, "I am a man." The throngs of men marching in Washington today, almost all of them are doing so for the same stated reason. But there is a profound difference between this march today and those of 30 years ago. Thirty years ago, the marchers were demanding the dignity and opportunity they were due because in the face of terrible discrimination, they had worked hard, raised their children, paid their taxes, obeyed the laws, and fought our wars. (p. 1948)

By aligning himself with Martin Luther King, Jr. and this earlier march, Clinton became a part of the true civil rights movement. Audiences listening to the President are now invited to accept the President as one of the leaders carrying on King's message, and the President's scolding of separatists allowed him to lambaste those who have strayed from the path of righteousness. Following King's lead, Clinton reminded his audiences of the redemptive suffering of blacks and the progress that had been made through legitimate avenues of change.

Yet because of the unique political constraints that existed for Clinton, he could not end his sermonizing with this partial list of grievances. He had to find ways of explaining why whites and other people of color also needed to be heard. For example, in his anticipation of Farrakhan's address, the President painted a vivid picture explaining the "fears" (p. 1850) of whites who were also a part of this national divide. In one of the most controversial sections of his speech, the chief executive argued:

> It isn't racist for a parent to pull his or her child close when walking through a high-crime neighborhood or to wish to say away from neighborhoods where innocent children can be shot in school or standing at bus stops by thugs driving by with assault weapons or toting handguns like Old West desperadoes. It isn't racist for parents to recoil in disgust when they read about a national survey of gang members saying that two-thirds of them feel justified in shooting someone simply for showing them disrespect . . .. It's not racist for whites to assert that the culture of welfare dependency, out-of-wedlock pregnancy, and absent

> fatherhood cannot be broken by social programs unless there is first more personal responsibility. (p. 1850)

Clinton amended part of King's message by highlighting the importance of personal character, but at the same time commenting on pitfalls of total dependence on government.

The President's narrative thus wove together several argumentative threads that provided him with clear rhetorical advantages. His identification with King allowed him to comment on various forms of racism, while his emphasis on individual responsibility took some of the thunder away from the "self-help" discourse that would be offered later in day. Clinton's neutralization of the problem of crime allowed him to appeal to white audiences, while at the same time illustrating his recognition of the problems of the nation's urban areas. While defending the importance of education and economic opportunity, his anticipatory rhetoric showed his concern that the nation maintain a semblance of "law and order." Near the end of his presentation, the President summarized his presentation by reminding his listeners that the real "message of this march today" is that "your money is no replacement for your guiding, your caring, your loving the children you brought into this world" (p. 1852).

One of the most difficult tasks for the President involved the question of how he would deal with the moral issue of "atonement." In the rhetoric of Black Nationalism, the term "atonement" had several key functions. First, it provided a spiritual basis for a belief in Islam, where human humility and submission provides outward signs that one recognizes the need for Allah. At the same time, the term "atonement" had a more secular meaning, often symbolizing more militant demands on the parts of the empowered to provide land, money, or political power as a form of redress for past injustices and abuses. So key was this term that Farrakhan would later set aside a day of "atonement" in cities like Atlanta and Philadelphia in the hope that blacks would remember the importance of the messages of the Million Man March (Murray, 1997, p. 44).

In his Austin address, the President redefined the word "atonement" so that it no longer meant recognition of systematic racism or the need for massive economic reparations. Within

Clinton's anticipatory narrative, "atonement" now becomes an individual commitment, where every citizen is asked to engage in certain types of behaviors and activities that will help gradually eliminate racism from the American scene. For Clinton, "atonement" needed to be connected with another term–"reconciliation"–and it is here that the President inverted the goals of Farrakhan and other separatists. As Clinton would admonish his listeners:

> Today we face a choice. One way leads to further separation and bitterness and more lost futures. The other way, the path of courage and wisdom, leads to more unity, to reconciliation, to a rich opportunity for all Americans to make the most of the lives God game them. This movement in which the racial divide is so clearly out in the open need not be a setback for us. It presents us with a great opportunity, and we dare not let it pass us by. (p. 1849)

By blending together the secular and the sacred, the President invited his listeners to find ways of performing acts that eradicated the specter of racism, and he provided several suggestions that he believed would point the way toward reconciliation and atonement. Radiating optimism, Clinton asked Governors, mayors, business, leaders, church leaders, union stewards, student leaders, educators, and ordinary citizens to reach "out to different races" and talk through this issue [race]" (p. 1851). This is supposed to be followed by a national commitment to "real opportunity," where the benefits of education and the economic marketplace are opened up to everyone. At the same time, Clinton contended that affirmative action needed to be amended, not abolished.

In sum, the President thus attempted to contain the revolutionary meaning of atonement, moving it away from notions of separatism and economic reparations, and toward the moderate policies of traditional civil rights movements.

Racism and The Discursive Reconstruction of the History and Future of "America"

In any rhetorical situation, a rhetor's punctuation of time is a key element of an address, and in this situation Clinton adroitly handled the issue of slavery and racism in ways that allowed multiple audiences to share in his narrative vision of what "America" looked like in the past. The President attempted to pre-empt Farrakhan's focus on enslavement by highlighting the ways that optimistic Americans have in the past preserved the "Union" and abolished slavery. In Clinton's rendition of the nation's history, blacks were not the only members of the civic polity who had endured racial injustice. Throughout his speech he emphasized the discrimination that has been experienced by "Hispanic-Americans" (p. 1848), women (p. 1849), and whites who lived in fear of crime (p. 1850). In his temporal trajectory of American history, the President provided a diachronic account that emphasized three distinct periods in our nation's past–a time of origins, the early civil rights movement, and the modern times of tolerance. Although these time periods were not developed in sequential order in the Austin address, they nevertheless provided the key eras that would be discussed.

Anticipating Farrakhan's separatist focus on the history of slavery, the President took his audience harkened back to a time of origins when America was not so divisive. Clinton began this part of his tale by recalling that:

> Long before we were so diverse, our Nation's motto was E pluribus Unum, out of many we are one. We must be one, as neighbors, as fellow citizens, not separate camps but family, white, black, Latino, all of us, no matter how different, who share basic American values and are willing to live by them . . .. Whether we like it or not, we are one nation, one family, indivisible. And for us, divorce or separation are not options. (p. 1851)

The chief executive's never really explained exactly when what year or what period in linear history he was talking about, but in the symbolic world that he is outlining it is not difficult to see the contrast between his call for unity and the unworkable solution

of "separation" that listeners might hear later in Washington, D. C. For this President, the nation has formed a "social contract," and all Americans were supposed to give each other a chance to win in the game of life.

Much earlier in the address, Clinton had focused attention on another era, the birth of the civil rights movement in the 1960s, when many citizens espoused their concerns that they were being left out of America's social contract. For the President, this period of time is an era of tolerance, a time when an enlightened majority used the democratic processes to provide necessary remedies and social reforms. Adapting to the ideals of his immediate Texas audience, the President supplements his analysis Martin Luther King, Jr. by applauding the work of Lyndon Johnson, who was credited with passing both the Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act (p. 1853).

Clinton's discussion of the alliance between Johnson and King provided an exemplary case of what can happen when communities work together, and the conspicuous absence of any specific reference to Farrakhan in this tale simply emphasized the President's claim that racial hatred had no place in American society. Within this narrative, it the practical moderates who were the effective leaders and participants in the democratic process. For Clinton, the racial dangers did not come from any inherent institutional problems, but rather had their roots in the "poison" that threatened progress by "selling short the great character of our people" (p. 1853). In this idyllic world, communities that learned to communicate with each other could fulfill King's promise, and the diversity within the nation became a source of strength rather than weakness. For the President, the significance of the march in Washington had more to do with the reassertion of "our commitment to the bedrock values that made our country great and that makes life worth living" (p. 1853).

Assessment

By recontextualizing "race," separating the message from the messenger, redefining "atonement," and reconstructing American history, Clinton created a narrative that dealt with racial

issues in ways that anticipated the pernicious effects of Farrakhan's rhetoric. Supporters applauded Clinton's apparent racial sensitivity, but critics complained that the President provided no "public policy proposals" and merely a "rhetorical" suggestion that we "try to get along and that the nation had a major race problem" (Walton, 1995, p. 20). Furthermore, the chief executive's response:

> . . . offered at best recognition of the need to improve race relations in the country. The President also reaffirmed his desire to maintain programs that support the poor and needy. But embedded in the speech were some references to law and order and support for the police . . .. Was this speech in the final analysis only a rhetorical response or was it a sermon to African Americans about their possible disrespect for the law? (Walton, 1995, p. 21)

While Clinton's defenders believed that his remarks represented the dominant views of most Americans, his detractors argued that most of the polysemic messages embedded in his narrative contradicted his call for hope and atonement.

With the passage of time, Americans will have new opportunities to assess just what type of "racism" needs to be confronted and what forms of "atonement" best represent the moral trajectories of the nation. Perhaps President Clinton was right when he warned us "on the edge of the 21st century, we dare not tolerate the existence of two Americas" (p. 1851). Yet for those of us who believe in the importance of public deliberation and argument in maintaining the public sphere, the challenge will be to find constitutive rhetorics that are co-produced by many communities who are allowed to articulate their views on "race" and reconciliation.

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Making the Basic Course Student-Friendly: Lectures, Activities, and Speeches

Marsha Clowers

Up to 95% percent of people experience communication apprehension (Richmond & McCroskey, 1989). Since academic, occupational, and relational success are all related to the ease with which one communicates (Galassi & Bruch, 1992; Richmond & Roach, 1992; Rosenfeld, Grant, & McCroskey, 1995), few would protest a "cure" for anxiety, especially for public speaking. In fact, feeling anxious when speaking publicly is common (Daly & McCroskey, 1984; Richmond & McCroskey, 1989).

Many texts devote only a fraction of a chapter to discussions of communication anxiety. But real apprehension is not similarly isolated; speakers can feel anxious during any part of the speech production process. Fortunately, educators can successfully address the mild to moderate degree of anxiety felt by most students. When incorporated in the basic course, the strategies described in this paper can ease most of your students' anxieties. By defining communication apprehension, maintaining a comfortable class environment, and making special speech assignments, instructors can reduce many of their students' fears.

Identifying Apprehension: Using the Personal Report of Public Speaking Anxiety

Communication apprehension long has been a concern of instructors (see, for example, McCroskey's research). Since most students undergo physiological or cognitive stress during or in anticipation of public speaking (Richmond & McCroskey, 1989), teachers should educate students about apprehension and its remedies. Though learning about apprehension does not insure anxiety reduction, instructors can facilitate the development of skills to cope with anxiety.

Just as we teach students to carefully analyze audiences, so should we scrutinize ours. The Personal Report of Public Speaking Anxiety (PRPSA) can indicate of the needs of a class and identify highly apprehensive individuals. Early in the semester distribute the PRPSA (in Richmond & McCroskey, 1989). Make sure they know there are no correct or incorrect answers. Distributing the survey before defining communication apprehension can reduce response bias.

At the next meeting, explain that the instrument indicates the degree of anxiety about public speaking. Inform your students that scores of 34 to 84 indicate low apprehension, scores of 85 to 92 indicate moderately low apprehension, scores of 93 to 110 indicate moderate anxiety, scores of 111 to 119 suggest moderately high anxiety, and scores of 120 and above indicate high anxiety (Richmond & McCroskey, 1989). Because students might fear that high scores on the PRPSA equal low scores in your class, explain to them that most people have a moderate to moderately high fear of public speaking: being anxious means being normal. This exercise provides the transition to more complete definition of communication apprehension.

Before beginning that lecture, ask the students to give their surveys to you. If you have any students with high scores, speak individually with them after class about their fears. Such contact has been helpful for my most apprehensive students. Keep the scores in case you want to distribute the PRPSA at the end of the semester.

In addition to the PRPSA, closely observe your students. While some stammering or shaking is normal, tears or a major change in demeanor requires your attention. Is the student normally jovial, but on speech days withdrawn? Does the student reek from alcohol or smoke? If you detect such symptoms, schedule a private meeting with the student(s). Stress that while anxiety is acceptable, substance abuse is not. Then make a referral to the counseling center. Also, insure the student that you are available to preview outlines or speech delivery if needed.

Defining Communication Apprehension

Convincing students of anxiety's normality is key in diffusing nervousness. **Appendix A** provides a lecture which defines communication anxiety, stresses its normality, and presents strategies for combating it (based on Daly & McCroskey, 1984; Grice & Skinner, 1993; Richmond & McCroskey, 1989). If you several highly apprehensive speakers, spend more time on this lecture. It might also help if students write in a journal about their experiences.

Though the lecture is designed for students with a range of apprehension, individual and class needs vary. Students with more class room experience might have less anxiety (Poppenga & Prisbell, 1996). International students, students with disabilities, and people of color might express anxiety in ways unfamiliar to the typical instructor. For instance, in some cultures failure to make eye contact shows respect -- a necessary behavior for effective delivery. A discussion of teaching strategies in the multicultural speech class is beyond the scope of this paper, but you can advise students having trouble modeling "dynamic" delivery to focus on other aspects of speech making. Increased attention to visual aids or use of vivid language can compensate.

These suggestions require extra educator diligence and awareness, but can make your students more relaxed. Once the lecture has been delivered, make the first "speech" assignment.

Assignment I: The Ungraded Speech

Before the first graded speech, students should have an ungraded speaking experience. **Appendix B** contains instructions for a "speech" that better acquaints class members. It is especially helpful for students who have had little or no prior speaking experience. Rooms look very different from a podium: students should experience that change before being graded.

This two to three minute ungraded "speech" requires students to relate one of their greatest achievements. Students commonly speak about challenges faced while attending college

(working, balancing family life, achieving high grades), or sports accomplishments (coaching, participation in championship games). Other students will speak about overcoming illness or helping a loved one through a difficult period, for example.

Stress that the purpose of the speech is not to foster competition, but to let students express something they are proud of, to better acquaint class members, and to provide a low-stress speaking experience. In addition, this is the first time instructors can observe the students as speakers: the exercise can identify students experiencing profound distress.

After the speeches, ask them about their reactions. Was it more or less difficult than anticipated? What made the speeches they remember memorable? What techniques will they incorporate in future speeches? Then congratulate students for completing their first speech.

Completion of the following exercises will prepare students for their first graded speeches.

Anxiety Reducing Exercises

The **Appendix C** exercise makes students more comfortable with topic selection and audience analysis. Part I provides a resource students can use all term to select speech topics. If a student' s ideas are thematically related, encourage them to speak about the topic all semester.

You also need to participate in the exercise. Often, this is your first indication of topic problems. For example, a student wants choose inflammatory topics such as abortion or capital punishment, ask the student if the emotional nature of the topic will interfere with his or her performance. Conversely, some topics, though not inflammatory in nature, present information that is so universally agreed upon than little can be gained from presenting the topic again. (We all know that smoking is bad, exercising is healthy, and tanning is dangerous.) This exercise also indicates the possibility of similar topics. I have found that students become more anxious when giving similar speeches, especially if they are delivered the same day. Furthermore, if a

student cannot pick a "favorite" topic, the class feedback can serve as a "tie-breaker."

The final requirements of Appendix C are elementary, but necessary. Students typically fail to establish their credibility. Requiring students to create hypothetical introductions allows them to practice constructing credibility statements. Being assertive about one's expertise is an important skill; spend time on this exercise. Repeat the activity if students struggle with it.

While the students are critiquing each other's work, walk around the room and assess the accuracy of their comments. If the class is large, it is a good idea to check their introductions individually. Correct the work of students who might be having trouble with their introductions.

Once you have established that the students are constructing appropriate credibility statements, have them focus on the other elements of the introduction, including the attention-getter and preview statement.

The number of times the Appendix C exercise is completed depends on the needs of your class. This exercise prepares the students to deliver their first graded speech, an assignment that emphasizes clear organization and a complete introduction and conclusion.

Assignment II: The How-To Speech

Prior to this speech assignment, you will have lectured about organization, audience analysis, and the other essentials needed to deliver an effective informative presentation. In my experience, the anxieties of some students will be eased if their first graded speech requires the demonstration of a process. One benefit of this assignment is that students have something to concentrate on beside their nerves. Because the requirements of effective delivery probably have not yet been discussed, students might be anxious about what to do with their bodies. Requiring a demonstration speech gives students something to do with their hands until you can deliver those lectures. The assignment for this speech is given in **Appendix D**.

It is especially helpful if the topic of the speech of demonstration is related to the content of the greatest achievement speech. In this event, students have already illustrated credibility in reference to a topic. For example, if a student spoke about being a summer camp counselor, for her demonstration speech she might show how to build a campfire or make a craft. Other students could administer first aid, play a guitar, or paint a picture. The possibilities are endless.

The instructor' s responsibilities here include urging students to be familiar with the process they will demonstrate. A failure to adequately prepare for this speech will be obvious. Instructors will also want to consider placing limitations on the visual aids used. For example, are animals allowed in the building? Would it be appropriate for speeches to be given outdoors?

Again, assignment of this speech does not imply that demonstration or use of a visual aid significantly reduces communication apprehension. But by limiting the choices of the students and requiring that they speak about some demonstrable process, you are essentially reducing the number of variables the students must make decisions about to prepare for the speech. I have found that by incrementally allowing students more and more freedom during the course of a semester, they can focus on a discrete number of skills per speech, allowing their efforts to be more focused. This assignment is not meant to replace the more traditional informative speech assignment, which can be given later in the term, but to offer an alternative to it.

Having completed the ungraded and demonstration speech assignments, you should lecture on appropriate physical and vocal delivery and the incorporation of visual aids. Though those topics are outside of the scope of this paper, integrating collaborative work, making yourself available for students, and offering individualized feedback will do much to maintain a classroom environment that facilitates development of introductory public speaking skills.

Summary

There is no singular way to dispense with communication anxiety. And just as your students' needs vary, so do the needs of each of your classes. The amount of time your class spends discussing communication apprehension, selecting appropriate topics, establishing credibility, and delivering the first graded speech will likely vary from semester to semester. Some classes and students might not need such specific guidance. But for those students who do, the exercises and activities contained in this paper have the potential to be as successful in your classrooms as they have been in mine.

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Appendix A
Communication Apprehension Lecture Notes

(The instructor′ s directions and questions to the class are in italics and bold typeface.)

Close your eyes and picture this: you′ re about to give a speech. You′ ve practiced, but suddenly, you can′ t breath! You can′ t remember the first line of your speech! You′ ve sweated off your make-up and your skirt is not long enough to hide your knocking knees. Maybe your tie feels so tight that you can′ t swallow. Meanwhile, you hope the building will catch fire! Anything would be better than facing an audience. ***Now open your eyes.***

You want to control these feelings—the phenomenon of communication apprehension or anxiety. But before we talk about controlling apprehension, we must know more about what it is.

Communication apprehension or anxiety is the fear associated with real or anticipated communication events. The communication can occur in dyads, small groups, public contexts, or situations that bring you into contact with certain types of people, such as teachers or physicians.

Think of when you felt uncomfortable communicating. What made you uncomfortable? (List these examples on the board and look for commonalities in the examples.) ***For example, did the situation occur on a date, in front of a classroom, or with a professor?***

What were the symptoms of this stress? How did you feel? (List these on the board. The symptoms might include shaking, sweating, stuttering, forgetfulness, excessive movement, no movement, decreased eye contact, communication avoidance, stomach discomfort, etc.)

Communication apprehension sounds terrible, but it′ s important to talk about it for at least three reasons: 1) it influences how others react to you, 2) it influences how you feel about yourself, and 3) finally, for some people, it can be controlled.

Perhaps most importantly, we talk about communication apprehension because estimates show that about 90% of the

population experience some form of communication anxiety. Being apprehensive is not only common, it's normal!

Even though communication anxiety is normal, it can have negative effects on one's personal or professional life. ***How can the symptoms of communication anxiety interfere with your communication?*** (List responses on the board. Examples might include the following: you are less likely to be seen as a leader; you are less likely to be seen as credible; your physical delivery suffers; it is hard to adapt to changing communication circumstances; you are unable to fully express yourself; your creativity and intelligence are not fully expressed, etc.)

But the best news is that you might be able to reduce those symptoms. ***Think of stressful communication experiences you have had in the past. What did you do to calm your nerves?*** (As you list responses on the board, point out similarities between them.) Research tells us that there are primarily three ways to control communication apprehension.

The first method is skills training -- the instruction you get in a speech course. If you haven't mastered basic speaking skills, you are doomed to failure. That's the reason why this class is so important -- it introduces you to the strategies needed for success.

Another method is referred to as systematic desensitization. Briefly, this involves repeated exposure to speaking experiences over time. The idea is that you gradually become more comfortable with speaking each time you speak. This is why speech courses require three or more presentations. We want to give you time to adjust and to feel more comfortable.

Visualization is the most effective way to combat nervous feelings. With visualization, you exactly imagine the communication event in your mind: the room, the audience, what you will wear, etc. You must imagine yourself completely and successfully delivering your speech over and over until you are comfortable with it. Although this can take some time, it is the single most effective way to feel more comfortable with speaking. Successful athletes, performers, speakers, and even teachers use this method! ***Has anyone used this? Why did you use it?***

Ironically, visualization is something you alone are completely responsible for. You will receive basic skills training and have multiple speaking opportunities in this class, but you are on your own as far as visualization. The idea is that with a little work and determination, you can turn a potentially negative reaction into something that enhances your performance!

At all times during the lecture, draw attention to commonalities among students' experiences. Remember to stress that almost all people experience some discomfort and, given enough time and experience, these feelings of anxiety can be reduced for some people.

Appendix B

"My Greatest Achievement": The Ungraded Speech

(These instructions can be distributed to students.)

Prepare to talk for two to three minutes about something you are proud of. You might talk about difficulties you have overcome, your grade point average, an achievement you've assisted someone else with, or an achievement you plan for the future. This presentation can be serious or humorous. There are no delivery or source requirements. Incorporate, to the extent you feel comfortable, what you've already learned about attention-getters, preview statements, organization, transitions, and conclusions. Pretend you're explaining this experience to your best friend or family members. Enjoy!

Appendix C

Preparing to Speak: Group and Individual Exercises

(This exercise makes students more comfortable about topic selection and audience analysis.)

Part I

Ask your students to make a list of topics, experiences, or processes they are familiar with. This list can include hobbies, volunteer work, extracurricular activities, ethnic background, employment, previous travel, majors, minors, favorite authors or

films, or other experiences. Since the purpose of the list is to generate potential speech topics, they should only include topics they would be comfortable speaking about. Other than that requirement, no topics should be excluded. The list should be at least 5 items long.

Part II

At the beginning of the next class period, place the chairs in a circle, and have students pass his or her topic list to the right or left. Ask them to check the topics they find appealing. Continue until the lists reach their owners.

Each student now has some sort of an idea about what topics will be well received by the class. While students should not be required to abandon a topic idea that is not popular, they know they will have to work with extra diligence to gain the classes' attention. Now is the time to discuss overlap of topics, diversity of topics, etc.

Part III

While listing familiar topics usually is not difficult, students often forget verbally to demonstrate expertise during their speeches. Remind them that credibility must be established during each speech. The third part of the exercise requires students to create an introduction for one of the topics on his or her list, including a carefully constructed credibility statement. Not only does the exercise boost confidence by assuring students that they can create an introduction, it also mandates that they remember and talk about something they are good at or have had experience with.

First, ask the students to pick one of the topics from their list. Then ask the students to construct a hypothetical, but complete, introduction for a speech on that topic. Students should place emphasis on establishing their credibility by relating past experiences, research done, training undertaken, classes attended, volunteer work completed, etc.

Next, ask the students to make groups of three to five people. Each student should read his or her introduction aloud. Finally, the group members should evaluate whether or not the student has demonstrated expertise. Make sure students consider the suggested changes.

After evaluating each introduction, lead a class discussion about the exercise. Consider asking the students whether or not it was difficult for them to establish their expertise. Was it typical for students to assume that their classmates knew of their past experiences? What were some of the more important suggestions given by classmates? Ideally, students will be able to use the introduction constructed in class for one of the speeches they will later deliver.

Appendix D
Your First Graded Speech: The Speech of Demonstration

(Distribute these instructions to students.)

You are ready to deliver your first speech! If you haven't already made this decision, you need to determine what you will demonstrate. Think back to all you have learned about audience analysis and consider in what ways the audience already finds you credible. What were the results of the audience analysis exercise? What did you speak about for the greatest achievement speech? What are you good at?

Once you have determined what you will speak about, decide what your main points will be. Given the nature of the speech, they will probably be chronologically organized. Now apply everything else you know about speeches: add transition statements, make sure your introduction is complete, use vivid imagery, continually relate to the audience, and remind the audience why they should listen to you. Finish it up with a dramatic conclusion.

Now you can begin practicing your demonstration. It will be overwhelmingly obvious to the audience if you haven't prepared adequately. However, it will be just as clear if you have taken the time to prepare! It works both ways.

Finally, relax and focus on relating your message to the audience. The more you let your own personality show, the more successful you are likely to be. Good luck!

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